

MEMOIRS
OF THE
BARON DE TOTT,
ON THE
TURKS AND THE TARTARS.

TRANSLATED from the FRENCH.

BY AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN AT PARIS,

Under the immediate INSPECTION

OF THE
BARON.

VOL. III.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR L. WHITE, J. CASH, and
R. MARCHBANK.

M,DCC,LXXXV.

MEMOIRS

BARON DE TOTT



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Printed by J. WHITE, 1, Queen's

Street, Dublin.

1804.

MEMOIRS

OF THE BARON DE TOTT.

THIRD PART.

I HAD seen, on my journey, only a small part of the disorders and cruelties committed by the Turkish army, on leaving Constantinople; but on my arrival in that capital, I found every body still in emotion at so horrible a spectacle, the particulars of which I had no difficulty in collecting.

An ancient custom, of which neither the cause nor the origin can be traced, unites the most insipid buffooneries, with the commanding train of the assemblage of the forces of a great empire, against its enemies, and the Turks call this ridi-

culous medley, *Alay*; that is, the triumphal pomp: it consists in a sort of masquerade, where all the different branches of trade successively exhibit to the spectators, the mechanic exercise of their respective arts: The husbandman drives his plough, the weaver throws his shuttle, the joiner planes; and these various representations, raised on carriages, richly decorated, open the procession, and precede the standard of Mahomet*, when it is marched out of the Seraglio, to be conveyed to the army, to insure victory to the Ottoman troops.

This

* This Standard, made of green silk stuff, is kept in the Treasury, from whence it is never taken, but to go to war; it was, however, in agitation, to employ it against the rebels who dethroned Sultan Achmet: that Prince's Visir, who was the first victim on which the malecontents displayed their fury, without glutting it, gave that advice to his master; and the revolted, who had no other principle of union than pillage, must certainly have been dispersed by the multitude, who would have resorted to the sacred banner. Another relic of Mahomet is preserved, also, in the Treasury; they dip this every year in water, which the Grand Seignior then orders to be distributed, in phials, to the great men of the empire. Free-thinkers, for such there are, even

tuation of their houses, could let their windows, availed themselves of this advantage: an Emir, who preceded the banner, cried out, in a loud voice, the following words: "Let no infidel dare to prophane, by his presence, the sanctity of the Prophet's standard; and let every Mussulman who discovers an infidel, declare it, under pain of reprobation." From that moment there was no asylum; even they, who, by letting their houses, had become accomplices in the crime, became the informers. Fury takes possession of their minds, and gives fresh strength to every arm; the most atrocious crimes become the most meritorious; no longer was there any distinction of age or sex. Pregnant women, dragged by the hair of the head, trampled under foot by the multitude, perished in the most deplorable manner; nothing was respected by these monsters; and it was under these auspices that the Turks began the war.

The Katty-Cherif, or Imperial Diploma, which proclaimed it, dictated in the usual form, invited all true-believers, able to bear arms, to unite themselves under

under the standard of the Faith, to fight against its enemies; this sort of convocation of the Arrier Ban, promised a numerous army, but not an army of good troops: ignorance and avarice gave the preference to this multitude of volunteers, whom they should no longer be obliged to think of, at the conclusion of the war, to the service of the Janissaries, whose pay, and pretensions, would for ever be advanced. It may, also, be presumed, that the Grand Seignior's fearing to restore to that corps the energy to which his father had fallen a victim, was inclined only to employ them as auxiliary forces. The most substantial inconvenience that prevailed, and which one would the least suspect, was the total want of foresight respecting provisions. It is the nature of despotism, always to flatter itself, to be able to substitute authority to prudence. The Grand Visir commanded the army; all the Ministers accompanied him; even the records of the Chancery were dragged in the train. No doubts were entertained either of success, or of abundance—the confidence was as blind, as it was universal.

Whilst the great officers, by going to a distance from Constantinople, seem to remove with them the seat even of the empire, their substitutes, in each employment, reside in the capital, and are responsible to the despot for the ready execution of his orders*.

We are now going to see the springs of this government in action, the successive details of which, will enable the reader to form a better judgment than from a vague dissertation, unsupported by facts.

I had only been a few days at Constantinople, and had scarcely had time to take the necessary steps to hasten the return of my baggage, which I had left in Crimea, and in Bass-Arabia, when the first physician of the Grand Signior sent to me, at eleven o'clock at night, to know if I would receive him. The secrecy he exacted, together with the favour in which I knew he was with the Sultan,

* It must be remarked, however, that the removal of the Records of the Chancery, necessarily retards the execution of those orders where forms are necessary; but it may be added, that affairs of that nature very seldom interest the despot, and when they do, forms are easily dispensed with.

Sultan, excited my curiosity, without my presuming that a direct message was the object of this visit. The physician, however, told me, that Sultan Mustapha, informed of my return, had expressly commissioned him, to ask me the cause of it? "If you have reason to complain of any person, he will do you speedy justice; I have just quitted the Sultan; he has talked to me a great deal about you; he knows your origin*, and thinks it gives him some claim on your zeal." I desired him to assure his Highness of my gratitude; and although this appeared to me a personal measure, I was perfectly convinced, that it was impossible I should be the only object of a Prince's solicitude, whose armies were already in the field. His emissary, in fact, who had orders to carry him my answer, returned the next day, at the same hour, but with more ample instructions. As this Italian physician still spoke with difficulty the Turkish language, the questions he had to ask

A 5

* It has already been seen, that my father was an Hungarian, who had followed Prince Ragotzy; and we know that the Porte gave an asylum to that Prince, and his followers.

ask me, were committed to writing: I wrote my answers also, and this correspondence of the Grand Signior with me, obtained me his confidence, and was unknown to his Ministers until the moment that his Highness required of me such services, as, from their nature, became matter of public notoriety.

Whilst the Visir, Emin-Pacha, without any of the talents necessary either for the Minister or the General, blinded by his own personal interest, fondly imagined that he could preserve the former station in tranquillity, and fill the latter with glory, by making peace before the commencement of the war. His army, daily increased by the concourse of frantic Mussulmen, very soon became the most formidable enemy of the empire. The scarcity of provisions, the disorder which prevailed amongst that famished multitude, the plunder which followed from the different divisions of the army, the massacres which were its unavoidable consequences, authority invariably weak, and always despicable, when the administration is evidently vicious, every thing announced a change of fortune.

The

The Grand Signior, the only person who really interested himself in the success of his army, had just given his Visir a new order of disposition ; Emin-Pacha had the presumption to disobey him ; he was deceived in his politics, and his army beaten, and dispersed ; and a second order, more punctually carried into execution, soon placed his head on the gate of the Seraglio, with this inscription :—
“ *For not having followed the plan of the campaign sent directly from the Emperor.*”

Moldovandgi succeeded him.—This new Visir, more enterprizing, but not more skilful than his predecessor, was also beaten ; but he was lucky enough, in losing the Visirate, to lose only a place, as dangerous, as it is eminent, and which nobody was capable of supplying.

To the overbearing ignorance of the General, was joined the impertinent presumption of the subalterns ; and the Turks, who drag after them a vast train of artillery, every gun of which is badly mounted, and as ill served, thundered upon, on every occasion, by the cannon of the enemy, took no other vengeance

geance for their losses, than by accusing the Russians of unfairness.—“ They avail themselves,” said they, “ of the superiority of their fire, which it is, in fact, impossible to approach; but let them cease that abominable fire,—let them come forward, like brave men, with naked arms,—and we shall see if these infidels can resist the edge of the true believer’s sabre.” This multitude of weak fanatics had even the stupidity to reproach the Russians for some attacks they made during the holy Ramazan. The Grand Signior, however, informed that the howitzers had harrassed his cavalry, desired me to give him the model of those pieces, the invention of which was entirely new at Constantinople; and to satisfy his curiosity respecting the fire-arms of every kind, made use of in Europe, I sent this Prince the Memoirs of St. Remy, the plates of which were all he could examine; and when he went out, he made them be carried by one of the persons of his suite.

Sultan Mustapha, whose first cares, as we have seen, were directed towards the management of his finances, after having expended,

expended, unsuccessfully, immense sums; began to bargain with his Ministers for the fresh expences of the plans they were proposing; and whilst they, on the one hand, accused him of avarice, he reproached himself, on the other, with an easiness of temper, which served only, he said, to enrich the knaves who surrounded him. It cannot be conceived, in truth, that this Prince could, with a tranquil eye, behold his treasures diminished, his army dispersed, and those enemies he had no doubt of subduing the first campaign, not only victorious on the Danube, but threatening even the Archipelago with an invasion.

His activity carrying him every where; enabled him to discover, at each step he took, fresh abuses, of which he complained to his Ministers, never without making them tremble, but always ineffectually, for the promotion of good order; which would have been with difficulty re-established, even with the best disposition on their parts. The fresh troops, which were on their way to the army, from the extremity of Asia, passed the Bosphorus, and halted at Constantinople,

nople, not so much for the purpose of soliciting, as of exacting a composition from the Porte. Whilst the chiefs of this volunteer militia were treated about their subsidy for the campaign, these Asiatics, dispersed throughout the capital, armed to the very teeth, lying in wait night and day, in the streets, to rob the passengers, hastened the negotiations, from the urgent necessity there was of freeing the capital from such a banditti. —The government, too feeble to restrain their insolence, bargained to no purpose, and made concessions to them without shame. Amongst the number of these vagabonds who succeeded each other, was a troop from the country of Las †, who learn, on their arrival, that some Janissaries of their company §, are confined in the fortress of Yssar ‡, on the

† The country of Las extends the length of the South side of the Black Sea, and includes the towns of Synop and Trebisonde.

§ This company, which, I believe, is the thirty-fifth, is the more numerous, because the natives of Las never enter into any other, and the number in-rolled is thirty thousand.

‡ The castle wherein the Janissaries who are to be punished, or strangled, are confined; an alternative which renders this habitation very perilous.

the Canal. This troop had already settled their conditions of service, and of pay; but they super-add, as a necessary article, the deliverance of these prisoners. The Visir is afraid either to give way, or to refuse compliance; some expedient must be formed. It is agreed, that this body of men shall pass by the castle, fire at the gate, and that the governor, apparently compelled to it by this act of hostility, shall deliver up the criminals. Former examples may justify this ridiculous expedient, but it is no less a striking instance of cowardice in an arbitrary government, because it tends to discover the invariable character of despotism. Power no sooner slips out of the hands of the despot, than it is taken possession of by the multitude.

Whilst the weakness of the government compelled it to shut its eyes to the excesses of a licentious soldiery, the Ministers strove to conceal the naval war which threatened the empire. No Russian vessel had ever made its appearance at Constantinople. The Russians, therefore, have no ships; or if, by chance, they have any, what does that signify to the
Turks,

Turks, since there is no communication between the Baltic and the Archipelago? The Danes, the Swedes, whose flags are known to the Turks, could not overturn that argument in their minds; maps spread out before their eyes, had no more effect; and the Divan was not yet persuaded of the possibility of the fact, when they received intelligence of the siege of Coron, the invasion of the Morea, and of the appearance of twelve of the enemy's line of battle ships §.

The uncertainty of the Ministers, however, had not prevented them from preparing some maritime forces. Thirty ships of war were ordered to be got ready with the

§ The ignorance of the Turks in geography, furnishes anecdotes still more striking than the above.—A Venetian Ambassador, coming to Constantinople, with two ships of war of the Republic, fell in with the Grand Signior's fleet in the Archipelago, which, in time of peace, makes an annual cruize, to collect the tribute from the Islands. The Turkish Admiral invites his Excellency on board, to entertain him, and in the course of conversation, asks him if the dominions of the Republic were in the neighbourhood of Russia? Out of patience at this ignorance, the noble Venetian replies, “Yes;—there is nothing but the Ottoman empire between them!”

the utmost expedition, and nothing else was looked for, with so decided a superiority, than the pleasure of indemnifying themselves in the Archipelago, for the losses they had sustained on the Danube. Finding, also, amongst the archives of the empire, that the last war with Russia had occasioned the equipment of a small fleet of one hundred and fifty half gallies, for the purpose of penetrating into the Sea of Zabache, and the particulars found in the account of the expences, specifying none of the motives of this armament, they overlooked the circumstance that the ports of Asoph and Taganrog, then in dispute, had nothing to do with the present war. The construction of the gallies was ordered, and carried on with the greatest expedition.

These preparations increasing, the concourse of soldiers and sailors from the two fleets, carried licentiousness to such a pitch, that every day was marked by some new catastrophe; and M. le Comte de St. Priest, Ambassador of France, invited by the season to his house on the Canal, unwilling to deprive himself of the pleasure of a walk,

or

or to expose himself to the insults he had already experienced in his carriage, took the resolution not to stir out, as well as those that attended him, without their bayonets at the end of their fusils. This was the only means of safety which could procure respect to the person of the Ambassador from the troops of banditti who were daily passing by land and by sea to join the army. The Palace of France in the country, was so situated, as that all the boats which went up the Canal must pass under its windows, which were carefully kept shut on the side next the shore. We had gone out after dinner, to take our usual walk, and were already on the heights of Tarapia, when we heard a pretty smart firing of small arms on the sea, towards the Palace; we stopt, to form some judgment of the cause of it, when the cries of a man coming towards us, determined M. de St. Priest to go and meet him. Understanding that the Palace was attacked by a band, of these villains, we mended our pace, to check their audaciousness, but we were too late; the boat from which they had fired at the Palace, was already at a
great

great distance, and although the Ambassador escaped with a few shots through his window-shutters, and some broken panes of glass, from fourteen or fifteen bullets which we found in the saloon, the insult appeared of sufficient importance to justify a complaint to the Porte. An interpreter, sent for that purpose, recounts the circumstance to the Reis Effendi; who, after listening with every apparent symptom of the greatest concern, "What!" says he, "these rascals have dared to insult the Palace of France! They are idiots!—How can they expect to escape punishment? Do they not know, that on the first complaint, they will be sought after?—Indeed, I cannot but think of it;—it is absolute madness. To attack the Ambassador of France!—Had they not on their road plenty of Greek, Jewish, and Armenian houses?—Why did they not attack them, instead of bringing us into a scrape?"

It was thus that the Minister lamented the necessity of providing for an Ambassador's tranquillity, whilst nothing appeared to him more natural, than to sacrifice

erifice that of the public. A Colonel of the Janissaries had orders to guard the house of M. de St. Priest. Officers of that corps were sent, at the same time, to the mouth of the Black Sea, to seize the guilty persons, before the departure of the vessel, which was to carry them to Varna. We were informed that they were taken, and thrown into the sea; but so feeble was the government, that this account, which we knew to be a falsehood, had not even the air of probability. Some time after, an adventure of the same kind, the cause of which, although less serious, might have produced disagreeable consequences, happened at my door. I lived at Buyukdéré, in the house built by M. de Vergennes, during his embassy; a quay, which was likewise a highway, separated it from the sea. Some soldiers who were passing, talked so loud, that a parrot, whose cage was on a pretty high window, could distinguish, and repeat some very free language; with which, in their gaiety, they were seasoning their conversation. They stopt immediately, and abused the person who dared to turn them into derision;

rision; the parrot again repeats after them; they become furious, prepare their arms to assault the house, and fall upon the inhabitants. The tumult, however, awakened the attention of a Janissary, who kept guard in the house; and curious to know the cause of it, he opens the door the very moment that their rage was going to break forth. Threatened himself with being their victim, he enters into an explanation, and tells them of the parrot; they are irritated at his excuse; and it was not until they had seen the culprit, who, fortunately, still continued his imitations, that they could be appeased, and relinquish their design. A few dishes of coffee, which were accepted of by them, put an end to this quarrel, which it was as difficult to avoid, as to foresee.

Whilst the capital, and its environs, were infested by a licentious soldiery, who had no other courage than that of robbers, the provinces, delivered up to similar disorders, and harassed by the governors with equal impunity, suffered every species of vexation. The principal object of the Ministers was to provide equally

equally for the supply of Constantinople, and the subsistence of the army. This, at once, aggravated, and multiplied the oppressions. Measures, indeed, had been so badly concerted, that the people could not fail of suffering doubly, from the no less cruel, than imperious precipitation with which the taxes were levied, and from the injustice of the agents employed in the collection.

The Turkish government may, at all times, be considered as an army incamped, of which the commander in chief, from the centre of his headquarters, issues his orders to forage in the neighbourhood. It is thus, that the Visir provided for his army, by the Black Sea; whilst the capital, having now no other subsistence than what was drawn from the coasts of the Archipelago, found it necessary to insure that subsistence, by a superiority of the naval force prepared against the Russians. But although violence had succeeded in hastening the construction, in accelerating the equipment of vessels, and in assembling the multitude of human beings, who were compelled to become sailors, every thing

thing proclaimed that ignorance and presumption had directed the preparations.

Vessels, raised on the sides, but whose low batteries were drowned on the least wind, could offer nothing to the enemy but a great deal of timber, and very little fire. Entangled tackling, ropes and blocks which broke on the slightest exertion, thirty men employed in the gun-room to move the tiller, as they were directed from the deck; no principle of stowage, no nautical knowledge, encumbered batteries, cannon of different bores; such was the state of that armament, the conduct of which was necessarily entrusted to men so ignorant, as to be perfectly contented with it. The several commands, however, were matter of interest; and the Captain Pacha, who makes a perquisite of the principal appointments, by distributing the vessels of his fleet to the best bidder, allowed each Captain the same privilege of selling the subordinate employments of his ship; and this little traffic, consecrated by custom, filled up the measure of those malversations which bid fair to annihilate the

the Turkish marine, without the interposition of their enemies. Accustomed, until that moment, to no other service than annually to harrafs the Archipelago with a small squadron, the sea officers had acquired no military principle, no design, no art, no experience of their profession; and, when the fleet sailed, it seemed as if they had no other object but to collect a tribute, which nobody could dispute with them. *Hassan* *, alone, an Algerine renegado, appointed the Admiral's Captain, appeared to embark with the intention of making war: but this man, whose temerity is unknown, and who always thought that courage alone was all, and supplied the want of every thing, was desirous of signalizing himself by an invention, as fatal at Ichesmé, as it appeared extraordinary at Constantinople. This invention consisted of a number of iron bars, which, fixed on the gunwale, projected horizontally beyond the perpendicular of the water, in order to prevent

* The celebrated *Hassan* Pacha, who, through employments, military and civil, is at present the Captain Pacha.

prevent the enemy from boarding. But if this detail gives us no great idea of the genius of the author, I think I have given a sufficient accurate notion of the talents of the Turks, to leave no doubt of their admiring this invention.

The continuance of southerly winds, by delaying the departure of the fleet, instead of serving them to put it in better order, was only favourable to the desertion of sailors, and to some lucrative oppressions, which the Captains continued to exercise, under pretence of completing their crews. The land army, in the mean while, although twice ruined, was become more numerous than ever; and the Ottoman empire, vigorously attacked by sea and land, but opposing, on all sides, forces three times more numerous than those of the enemy, gave itself up to all the ostentatious pride of what appeared to them unquestionable prosperity.

The absence of the troops leaving a little tranquillity in the capital, and the presumptuous hopes of great successes, giving the people a more favourable dis-

position, M. le Comte de St. Priest, wished to give an entertainment on the marriage of the Dauphin of France. That the Turks might partake of it too, he intended to add to his other preparations, for the balls and the feasts, which the Europeans only could enjoy, an illumination and a fire-work, which I undertook to prepare. Already the ball-room, built for the purpose, was completed; the fire-works were ready, and nothing remained to be done, but to arrange the decorations, when the news of the destruction of both the armies, by land and sea, spread a general consternation throughout the capital, and put an end to all our preparations.

It was no longer possible to think of giving entertainments. The Grand Signior in the most distracting anxiety, the Ministers desponding, the people in despair, the capital reduced to the dread of famine and invasion; such was the present situation of an empire, which, a month before, thought itself so formidable. Ignorance, however, which always attempts to flatter that pride which is its inseparable companion, beheld this double catastrophe,

taſtrophe, only as the impenetrable decrees of that Providence, to which it is neceſſary blindly to ſubmit. Not a perſon amongſt the Turks could diſcover, that an undiſciplined multitude contributes more effectually to its own deſtruction, than all the efforts of an oppoſing enemy. But if the want of diſcipline alone was ſufficient to ruin the land army at Craoul, a concurrence of the moſt ſovereign folly, on the part of the Admiral, and his Captains, was neceſſary to complete the deſtruction of the fleet at Tchefmé.

This fleet, ſailing from the channel of the Dardanelles to ſeek the Ruſſians, after bending its courſe towards Chio, had come to anchor on the coaſt of Aſia, between the main and the Spalmadore Iſlands, before the harbour of Tchefmé. Some frigates, newly built, with the uſe of which the Turkiſh marine had been unacquainted before this war, anchored on the wings of that long line, were to give ſignals of the enemy's approach, and had orders to let them embarrasſs themſelves in this Streight, where the thirty ſhips, well diſtanced, and riding

at four anchors, were to wait for them. This ingenious ambuscade, thus prepared, the Russian vessels, disposed in a more military manner, after doubling Chio, and reconnoitering the advanced Turkish ships, stretched themselves along to the very center of the line, without their making the smallest motion to get under way.

The two Admirals, however, finding themselves on each other's beam, the Russian, after giving him his broad-side, came nearer to the Turk, to throw fire-balls into him, and blew up himself during this manœuvre. Hassan Pacha, at that time, had a flag, (and who furnished me himself the particulars I am now relating) after seeing his vessel escape from this havock, thought himself out of danger, when he perceived his stern in flames, and his vessel on the point of suffering the same fate. Already had his crew thrown themselves into the sea, into which he precipitated himself, and was lucky enough to get hold of the wreck of the enemy's Admiral, he had the further good fortune to escape the splinters of his own ship, where

where the fire was not long in reaching the powder magazine.

It is easy to perceive, that by proportioning the calculation to the importance of the loss on one side, and on the other, that of the Russians, which was infinitely more considerable, might justify the resolution they at first adopted, of not renewing their attack on the Turks; but the latter, whose military knowledge scarcely extended to the effects of saltpetre, terrified at that which it had just produced, calculated only the danger of being blown up should the Russians again attack them. Tcheshmé was immediately the asylum into which the whole Turkish fleet retired in the greatest disorder, and some cannon, landed in haste, and placed on the two capes at the mouth of that harbour, quieted the fugitives.

It seems as if the Russians were employed, during this interval, in observing the movements of the enemy; and one may readily believe, that they heard, with astonishment, the next day, what had passed at Tcheshmé. Unable to attribute this strange conduct of the

Turks to any other motive than a panic, when the most unpromising enterprize may almost always be successfully attempted, they presented themselves before the harbour, into which they sent two fire-ships. At this appearance of the Russians, the Turks, still terrified at the events of the preceding day, were more bent on saving themselves by land, than on defending their ships. But the sight of two vessels, steering towards the harbour, again awakened in them the idea of conquest; and taking them for deserters, far from endeavouring to sink them, they put up prayers for their safe arrival, fully determined to put their crews in irons, and anticipating the pleasure of leading them in triumph to Constantinople*.

These supposed deserters, however, entering the port without difficulty, belayed their rudders, hoisted their grappling irons, and soon vomited forth such clouds of flame, as set the whole fleet on fire; the harbour of Tcheshné, incumbered with vessels, with powder, and with cannon,

* This anecdote was authenticated to me by the same Hassan Bey whom I have already mentioned.

cannon, exhibited the spectacle of a volcano, in which the whole Turkish fleet was swallowed up. If this catastrophe humbled the Ottoman pride, a still more urgent necessity soon demanded the attention of the Ministers. Constantinople was menaced with an approaching famine. The destruction of the Turkish fleet, in fact, by abandoning the Archipelago to the Russians, prevented the supply of Constantinople; and the enemy might even force the Streights, present themselves at the point of the Seraglio, sack the city, and dictate the law to the Grand Signior. The dismay was general; and never were apprehensions better founded. Ignorance, which always does itself justice, when terror gets the better of presumption, made no objection to the Grand Signior's order, to abandon to me, without reserve, the defence of the Dardanelles, and to submit to my discretion all resources for the defence of the capital. This commission, however, could not be granted me without the necessary forms, and the Porte lost no time in filling them up, with the permission of the Ambassador of France.

The Reis Effendi, at the same time, invited and pressed me, to concert with him such measures as I might think necessary in so urgent a conjuncture.

I shall be so frequently under a necessity of speaking of the Turkish Ministers, that it may be useful to give some previous notions of the characters of such of them as were then in office ; notions absolutely necessary to these details into which I shall be indispensably led by circumstances.

We have already seen, that the Grand Signior, since his accession to the throne, occupied in schemes of œconomy, beheld with regret, his treasures dissipated in a war which procured him no share of that glory after which he thirsted. This Prince, however, could not charge the Ministers about his person with the bad success of his arms ; and if he thought them incapable of remedying these misfortunes, it was not in his power, unfortunately, to substitute men of greater talents in their places. Besides, it was in the army that distinguished talents were wanting ; and the Ministers in possession of their master's favour, had too much address

address to wish to persuade him that it would be to his advantage to remove them to a distance from his person.

Ismael Bay possessed, to an eminent degree, the difficult art of governing his Sovereign, of conducting all his affairs without hazarding his personal tranquillity, and without taking him from his pleasures.

Ifed Bey, Superintendant of the Mint, was a particular favourite of his master, without exciting either jealousy or hatred; prudent enough not to aspire to be Minister, he made use of his credit only to moderate the frequent ill humour of the Grand Signior towards his Ministers, and dedicated all his attention to the indigent and unfortunate, whom he daily assisted.

Melek Pacha, Caymakam, or Deputy of the Grand Visir, and brother-in-law to the Grand Signior, was no otherwise distinguished in that important office, than by his noble countenance, which had induced the Sultana to demand him of her brother. And the High Treasurer, less in favour, but proud of a sort of fame acquired by his father in the

preceding war, confident of the reputation he was himself about to obtain, more vehement than ambitious, was also more remarkable for his activity, than for his understanding. The Ministers of the second order, the Musti himself, had too little influence in the government to merit any relation of their personal qualities.

Ismael Bey, who was appointed to confer with me on the state of the Dardanelles, and the danger with which the capital was threatened, thought to conceal the fears of the government, by enveloping our conference in the veil of night. He received me in his private house, where I found him taken up with an affair, the importance of which made a powerful diversion from that which brought us together. This Turk, refined in his most trivial luxuries, but childishly refined, was desirous of finding two Canary birds which could sing the same air; his attendants had searched the whole city in vain, and the Minister was employing other methods to gratify his whim, when I arrived to concert with him the means of averting the catastrophe which menaced Constantinople.

He

He was not better acquainted with the state of the Dardanelles than myself; but it was evident, from the letters of Moldovandgi Pacha, formerly Grand Visir, and whose disgrace went no further than his appointment to the subordinate government of the castles on the Canal, with the title of *Defender of the Dardanelles*, that this barrier, hitherto deemed impregnable, was incapable of resisting the feeblest attack. The Russian Squadron, which paraded, with a favourable wind, in sight of the first castles, had only to take advantage of it, to penetrate into the Marmorean Sea, and come under the walls of the Seraglio, to give law to the Grand Signior.

Such was the situation of this haughty Court, whose humiliating position, so justly calculated to produce the most anxious uneasiness, was owing entirely to the ignorance of her Ministers, and the knavery of her subordinate officers. The observations which I was daily in the way of making on the castles more immediately in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, built on the same system, furnished me with sufficient hints of what I
had

had to do on my arrival at the Dardanelles. The manner of bringing them to bear on ships of war was very difficult. Two ships, which not having been able to join their fleet, had escaped the conflagration, and were at this time at anchor without the outer castles, might have been carried off by the Russian squadron before my arrival; and the dock-yard contained only one old vessel, declared unfit for service. I settled it, however, with the Reis Effendi, that this vessel, refitted in haste, provided with artillery, ornamented with an Admiral's flag, and laden with thick planks, shovels, and pick-axes, and other utensils, which I pointed out, should sail as soon as possible, to follow me to the Dardanelles.

The captain of a Maltese corsair, taken some years before, and who thinking to better his condition by assuming the title of Knight of Malta, had only rendered his ransom the more difficult, was groaning in irons. M. le Comte de St. Priest was desirous of embracing this opportunity to procure the release of this unfortunate man. With this view, I pleaded the necessity of preparing fire-ships,
and

and feigning ignorance in that respect, to give a better colour to the demand I made of this slave, I boasted his talents, and declared that he alone was capable of assisting me. I obtained permission for him to follow me with the vessel, and received the most positive assurances of his liberty, if I discovered in him those talents I declared him to possess. I was very certain of being able to give him all those which he might not already have of that nature; but I could scarcely foresee, what very soon after happened, that this man, apprized by the Turks of the views I had upon him, was so shallow as not to see into my motives, and to disclaim me. We shall presently see a whimsical consequence of an insinuation, of which charity was the only motive.

The Grand Signior's impatience to have me at the Dardanelles, did not permit me to wait for any of the materials which were necessary to begin my operations †. His Highness had given orders that

† From the flattering hope of ruling the universe, the transition was so rapid to the idea of annihilation, that at the news of the appearance of the Russians, all Constantinople lost their senses; they put
up

that every thing should be under my direction. I demanded a Commissary, and Mustapha Bey, grandson to the celebrated Dganum Codga †, was appointed, and I immediately freighted a French ship, to convey me to the Dardanelles. The Commissary of the Porte set out a few hours before me, and the orders he carried giving me full authority over Moldovandgi Pacha, did not much dispose him in my favour. I thought it safer, too, not to rely too much on the mysterious engagement of bread and salt, by which we have already seen this man enter into an inviolable covenant of friendship with me. The dread, however, in which he was kept by the letters he received, and the fear with which he was inspired by the presence of an enemy

ac-
up public prayers for the success of my endeavours; and the Grand Signior, who confided in my zeal, and who, unfortunately, had nothing better to do for the moment, thought he could not breathe until he had sent me off.

† Dganum Codga was Admiral at the time of the revolution, which, after dethroning Sultan Achmet, continued to threaten his successor. The chief of the rebels was killed in the Divan by this Admiral, who by his firmness and prudence re-established order.

accustomed to beat him, made him dissemble his discontent. This gave me time to appease him, in which I succeeded, by flattering his vanity, and we had no apparent difference during my stay at the Dardanelles. He only breathed out his ill humour in his first letters to the Porte, and the little effect they produced, soon put a stop to his complaints.

My first care was to examine the state of the castles; but it was enough to cast an eye on the soldiers entrusted with their defence, to conclude that there was no more dependence to be placed on the defenders than on the fortifications. The panic had so far taken possession of their minds, that they talked loudly of abandoning the batteries on the first cannon-shot.

The established permanence of the Turkish garrisons converting every soldier into a domiciliated citizen, furnishes him with too many foreign objects of attention, not to divert him from the sole defence of the citadel wherein he is placed; his cares extend without the walls; the Turkish discipline, always severe, and never exact, is not sufficient

to

to detain him. One has only to throw a single glance on the construction of the Dardanelles, to perceive the causes of this desertion. Dry walls, raised more than thirty feet above the batteries on a level with the water, threatened to crumble to pieces on the guns and the gunners, on the first volley from the Russians. The nature of this defence became more dangerous for the Turks, than even the attack of the enemy.

An artillery formidable in appearance, from the largeness of the bore, but little to be dreaded after the first fire, from the slowness with which these enormous swivels could be served, formed the principal batteries of the castles of Europe and of Asia, the fire of which crossed each other at the Dardanelles, but scarcely met at the two castles at the entrance. This artillery, entirely of brass, without carriages, and without trunnions, on slanting pieces of wood, whilst a heap of stones propped up the breaches, and hindered the recoil. A number of other pieces, lying on the sand, as well as several mortars, seemed to resemble more the ruins of a siege, than dispositions

tions to stand one. Such was the state of the Dardanelles when I arrived, and the Russian Squadron of seven ships of the line, two of which were three-deckers, and two frigates, had only to avail themselves, unquestionably, of the favourable wind which enabled them to block up the mouth of the Streight, to attempt an enterprize, from which Mr. Elphinston looked for success, and against which the Turks had nothing to oppose.

The channel of the Dardanelles, situated at fifty leagues west of Constantinople, between the Archipelago, and the little Sea of Marmora, stretches from the coast of Troy, as far as Gallipoli, opposite to Lampascus. This space of about twelve leagues, unequal in breadth, affords different points of view, where the lands of Europe and Asia, separated by this channel, approach each other within three or four hundred toises §. It is on the narrowest part of the channel, three leagues from the entrance, on the side of the Archipelago, that the castles, called

§ A toise is six French, consequently, something more than six English feet.

called the Dardanelles, are built, from whence the shot easily traverses from one side to the other. This point of defence has been a long time the only barrier for the security of Constantinople. Alarmed, *at length*, but still as ignorant as ever, the Turks have built two castles at the mouth of the Streight, *at the distance of about fifteen hundred toises, which renders the shot uncertain, and the defence insufficient.*

I have already spoken of the two Turkish ships of war, which the delay of equipment at Constantinople had prevented from sailing with the fleet, and saved them from the catastrophe of Tchesmé. These vessels were anchored between the two castles, but they were anchored so far out, that they might easily have been carried off by the enemy's squadron. My first care was to give orders to these ships to enter, that they might bring their broadsides to bear, so as to support the batteries of the castles, by narrowing the opening of the channel. On an inspection of the officers and crews, however, I was forced to suspend that order, which they appeared

peared to be incapable of carrying into execution. The wind, although favourable, was not sufficient to extricate them from their dangerous position; and this position became excessively critical the third day after my arrival.

Whilst I was at the European castle, situated at the Streight's mouth, the Russian Squadron coming in a line out of the Gulph of Efnos, hawled along the coast of Europe towards the point of the castle, and had the appearance, by this manœuvre, rather to intend falling upon the two ships, to carry them off, than to attempt forcing the passage. Either project was very easy of execution. A single frigate would have met with no more resistance from the two ships of the line, than the whole Squadron would have encountered from the castles. The only remaining advantage we possessed, and which it was of the utmost importance to preserve, was the enemy's ignorance of our extreme weakness. The manœuvre of their Squadron, shewed that they were afraid of exposing themselves to the fire of heavy batteries; I had, however, to oppose to them only one iron culverin, bored,

bored, indeed, for a ball of sixty pounds. The Turks had abandoned, rather than placed this piece without the castle: it was supported by two thick planks, and pointed perpendicularly towards the course of the squadron.

A promontory, one hundred toises forward, on which were placed some cannon of small bore, concealed this culverin, which could not, in this position, be discovered by the Russians, until the moment of their quitting the Gulph, and at the very instant when they would be exposed to its fire; but the cape leaving the crest of the walls, as well as the houses in the neighbourhood of the fortress, exposed, the squadron gave us their broadsides; and this brisk, but ineffectual cannonade, might have produced the good effects of accustoming the Turks to fire, had they not been utterly incapable of discipline. They disappeared at the first shot, and I had the utmost difficulty to keep with me seven or eight men to serve the culverin, the only means of defence I was master of. Still it was necessary to wait till the enemy placed themselves in the line of its
fire:

fire: this piece was immoveable, but that very immobility ensured the success of the first shot, which was fired at a frigate belonging to their van. This frigate immediately fell astern, and the second shot was ready for the following vessel; but the cannonade of the Russians continued beyond the cape, and the fleet went about, after having fired eight or nine hundred shot over our heads. I observed that several of these balls burst in the air, and they brought me some shells which had not burst. This attempt, repeated three successive days, in the same order, and at the same hour, by obliging me to defend this post, prevented me from preparing more efficacious means of defence; but I tried an experiment which appeared to me likely to drive away the enemy from the coast. With this view, on my arriving in the evening at the Dardanelles, I made them draw out a small piece of cannon, taken from the Venetians, and, after having made them heat some balls, and loaded the piece, I gave the spectators, who always followed me in crowds, a small specimen of red hot bullets. The Pacha,

cha, and the Turks, who saw this experiment, already imagined the Ottoman empire avenged for the burning of its fleet. Grates, and coals, and bellows, were preparing during the night, at the battery on the cape, which the Russians had always preferred cannonading; but if the Turks strove eagerly to execute the orders I had just given, some Greeks took as good care, no doubt, to acquaint the Russians with it: their fleet approached the coast no more, and they seemed to limit their future projects to the siege of Lemnos.

The first use I made of the tranquillity I had just procured myself, was to make sure of the two ships, which appeared to be the bone of contention. I lost no time in sending them about four hundred Jews, whom we collected at the two castles, and who, in spite of the Sabbath, laboured to tow these vessels out of danger. This operation, too, taking them out of the line of the currents, a fresh wind, which blew a few days after, brought them up to the second castles where their artillery was more necessary.

The

The superfluous waters which fall into the Black Sea, and which it is unable to evaporate, poured into the Mediterranean by the Thracian Bosphorus, and the Propontis, form such violent currents at the Dardanelles, that ships, with all their sails spread, can scarcely stem them. Besides, the pilots must observe, when they have sufficient wind, to shape their course in such a manner, as to present the least possible resistance to the force of the water. The study of this is necessarily founded on the direction of the currents, which, driven from one point to another, form obstacles to the navigation, and would occasion the greatest risks to the mariner, if proper attention were not given to this hydrographical knowledge. This was most assuredly the only sort of instruction the pilots of the two Turkish ships were capable of affording me; and I derived, from their course, a very useful insight into the situations which appeared to me the most advantageous for the defence of the channel. I saw, in fact, that a battery, placed on the *Pointe des Barbier's*, (Barber's Point) between the first and second castles, by making a cross

cross fire with another battery, which might be erected at a proper distance, on the promontory, on the European side, would give the Turks the advantage of battering the stem and stern of such vessels as might attempt to force the passage; whilst the enemy, to return both their broadsides, must lay their side to the currents, a manœuvre which would infallibly compel them to drive with the stream. This disposition would also give the Turkish artillery the additional advantage of employing bar-shot, with effect, against their sails, at full stretch, from the fresh wind, necessary for attempting the passage, which must soon be shattered, and unfit even to secure the vessels against being wrecked upon the coast. Another powerful motive, decided me to adopt this system of defence. These batteries commanded the anchorage of the *Taches Blanches**, (the White Spots). They would keep up a fire,

* A Creek in the channel, on the coast of Asia, between the first and second castles. This is the only anchoring ground of the channel, where the enemy could have attempted to establish themselves, after forcing the passage of the first gut.

fire, almost uninterruptedly, to the Dardanelles; and it was clear to me, that this disposition must ensure the safety of Constantinople, if the Turks would but tolerably serve the artillery I was about to place. Another point, nearer the castles of the Dardanelles, in Europe, called *la Pointe des Moulins*, (the Mill Point,) being likewise capable of crossing the fire from the battery of the *Barbier's*, and the Asiatic castle, seemed proper for the construction of another battery, and I determined to establish a fourth, on the banks of the Simois, to serve by way of epaulement to the fortress which joins it; and which, for the reason I have already given, was not tenable.

Whilst I was taken up with these arrangements, and the necessary orders were given to collect the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, to execute this work by *Corvées* †, Moldovandgi Pacha, who wished, no doubt, to make himself talked of, conceived the project of repairing the walls of an old castle of

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† Public works on the highways, &c. executed by the peasants, at the arbitrary discretion of government, a grievance long and heavily complained of in France.

the Genoese, situated on the top of a promontory, from whence is discovered the Archipelago, and which, although in sight of the entrance of the channel, was so lofty, and so distant, that its shot barely reached the sea, into which they plunged in the form of a parabola. Moldovandgi had not said a word to me of his plan; but although it was expensive, and entirely useless for defence, I bestowed on it the highest commendations. I submitted, likewise, to the instances of the Pacha, who made me climb up this rock, to examine his works; I there found two or three hundred masons building, on the old foundation, a dry wall of eighteen inches thick, whilst a great number of carpenters were forming, within this inclosure, the barracks for the garrison; but what astonished me the most, was the anxiety with which the Pacha made them white-wash the walls. One must judge from this, that he did not aim at masking his battery; the enemy could discover it ten leagues off at sea, but surely without being much terrified at the sight; this, however, was the sole object of Moldovandgi, and such

Such was the terror of the Turks, that every method of keeping the enemy at a distance, appeared preferable to that of beating them in case they should attempt to force a passage, which nature had done her part to render impregnable.

This disposition of their minds, determined me to form the batteries of two and twenty feet thickness. The united labours of the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages had already raised the epaulements of earth, and fascines; but the government had provided them only with a few tents to protect them from the weather, nor were any measures adopted for the assistance of these unhappy people, whose crops, abandoned by them during this interval, were daily going to destruction before their eyes.

M. le Baron de Pontécoulant, who had accompanied M. le Comte de St. Priest to Constantinople, proposing to return to France, was unwilling to set out under circumstances so critical for the Ottoman empire, without making me a short visit, to form, on the spot, an accurate idea of the Dardanelles. He arrived when my plans were sufficiently

traced out to enable him to form a judgment; he saw, at the same time, the discouragement, the confusion, and habitual indifference of the Turks. The Pacha, wholly occupied in white-washing the wretched walls he had built, out of the reach of cannon, thought he was aiding me sufficiently by not throwing difficulties in my way; and the Commissary of the Porte, employed to defray all the expences I might think necessary, neglected such as were useful, and bestowed his time in loading his accounts with all those which his imagination could invent.

Their own character was, without doubt, the most dangerous enemy the Turks had to contend with; it was also the enemy which gave me the most uneasiness. But as on the most difficult occasions, it is always a capital error to neglect the smallest resources, I thought I might derive some advantage from the arrival of the Baron de Pontécoulant; and after having apprized him of my project, I presented him to the Pacha as an Inspector sent to me by the Ambassador of France. I passed him off as a person

person sent to examine the state of the Dardanelles, to give an account of it to the Grand Signior, and afterwards to set out for France, to convey the information to the Emperor, my master. M. de Pontécoulant played his part perfectly well; he expressed all the ill humour we had agreed upon, and this stratagem gave a little more activity to the Pacha. This Visir thought he owed likewise the highest respect to *Monsieur l'Inspecteur*, and when M. de Pontécoulant took leave of him, he commissioned me to beg his acceptance of a small present in money, which is the height of politeness amongst the Turks. We were not quite of that opinion, but as a refusal would have persuaded the Pacha that we had an intention of injuring him at the Porte, and that this idea would have put him out of humour, I prevailed on M. de Pontécoulant to overcome his repugnancy for Oriental politeness; and the boatmen who had brought him, profiting by the present, were highly satisfied with French delicacy.

This journey, which had no other object than curiosity, but which I had just

turned to good account, became very soon a cause of the most anxious uneasiness to the Grand Signior. M. de Pontécoulant, delayed by contrary northerly winds on his return, and forced to land on the coast of Europe, above Gallipoli, and take horses there, arrived by land at Constantinople. The guards of the custom-house, who keep watch at the gate of Adrianople, stop, and examine him; astonished to see an European; they inquire who he is, and from whence he comes? and on his answering that he is the Bey Zade of France*, and that he comes from the Dardanelles, the guards taking him for me, suffer him to pass without further explanation, and fly to announce my return to the Grand Visir, who hastens to communicate the intelligence to the Grand Signior. Every body is in consternation, the Dardanelles are supposed to be forced, and his Highness immediately dispatches a confidential messenger to M. de St. Priest, to inquire of him the meaning of my return; but the Ambassador explaining the mistake, and furnishing

* A Gentleman of France; an expression that the Turks had long made use of in speaking of me.

furnishing the Grand Signior with some observations of M. de Pontécoulant, restored the tranquillity of the Prince and his Ministers.

I was one evening at Moldovandgi Pacha's, which was near my lodgings, and who began to treat me with a good deal of confidence, when a Turk appears, and reminds him of the promise he had made him to speak to me in his favour. "Aye, that is true!" says the Pacha; "I do commend this man to you; you may reap great advantage from him; he has a most surprizing talent for throwing bombs; a trifling lesson from you will make him excellent. We have just been seeing him make a proof, which would have had the most complete success, but for an accident, the causes of which we cannot discover, but the mortar burst, and has laid seven men dead on the spot." Whilst he was talking, I examined this man of talents, and discovered, from the shape of his turban, that he was a Cryer of the Mosques. I congratulate him on his good fortune in escaping from his proof unhurt, and ask him some questions on his proceeding.—"I have done every thing."

thing," says he, "that was necessary; and notwithstanding the accident which has happened to my first bomb, I am very sure I omitted nothing to insure its success." "Let us see," says I to him, "give me the particulars of your proceeding." "First," replied he, "the mortar being placed on its carriage, I pointed it towards the sea; I filled the chamber with powder, and then rammed it with earth beaten by a mallet; after which, I filled the shell with gunpowder;—" "You see," says the Pacha, interrupting us, "that he is a clever fellow."—"Go on,"—said I, to his favourite. "I placed," continued he, "the shell in the mortar, and set fire to it."—"What! without a fuzee?" I cried out, "—Ah, sorry wretch that thou art! thou oughtest to have been the first of those victims who have been sacrificed to thy ignorance. But is it possible, that with the quantity of mortars destined for the defence of these castles, there should not be a single bombardier who knows that one does not fire off shells without a fuzee?"—"This is a convincing proof, however," says the Pacha, "that

“ that very little is wanting to make him a clever fellow ; and I renew to you the request I have already made, to finish his education.” Compelled, in some measure, to submit to such folly, I sent in search of the store-keeper ; we examined the condition of his stores, without being able to find even the first ingredients necessary in the composition of a fuzee. The Pacha, however, insisted hard for the Cryer, and desired that I would make a proof before him. I was so very little interested in satisfying him, that really it was not worth the trouble ; but as one always suffers by saying no, to ignorance, I determined to make my carpenter contrive an indifferent turning machine, with which I turned some fuzees, and procured some saltpetre and brimstone, and I prepared my composition ; I then loaded several before my pupil, making him observe all the circumstances necessary to success, and the bombs were fired in the evening, to the great satisfaction of Moldovandgi, who waited for nothing but such a proof of talents in his favourite, to install him bombarbier in chief. Such, however,

was the awkwardness of this man, that after several days labour, he could not attain the manner of charging a fuzee, to make it fit for service; and my new scholar, disheartened with the toil, but no less eager of glory, had again recourse to his protector. He exclaimed against the difficulty of the method I employed, and solicited anew his interest, to engage me to shew him how to fire shells without fuzees. But what will appear still more ridiculous, this Visir, who had obliged the enemy to raise the siege of Kotchim, and afterwards commanded the Ottoman army, had the stupidity to adopt his favourite's proposition.

We may judge, from this single anecdote, how far the Turks were in a state of defending themselves, and of how much importance it was to conceal their weakness from the enemy. It was not, however, from the Greeks, who were known to be spies, that dangerous discoveries might be dreaded. Accustomed to bend under the yoke of Ottoman despotism, and as ignorant as the Turks, every thing which belonged to the latter, naturally commanded respect. But it

was necessary to prevent the Europeans from exposing our situation, and this was the object of the embargo which took place soon after the burning of the fleet. A great number of ships, of all nations, were already stopped at the Dardanelles, and, for a considerable time, the Turks had given up the navigation of the Archipelago*. The provisions I had demanded of the Porte were arrived, and I was in expectation of no more vessels, when a large *saic* † appeared, bearing

* During the whole war, neutral vessels, only, were employed to carry corn on the Grand Signior's account, and the Porte gave the French a preference, very advantageous to the merchants established at Constantinople. I must not, in this note, omit a commercial speculation capable of enlightening the policy of nations. An English vessel, laden with rice, came from Carolina directly to Constantinople, relying on the intelligence of the public newspapers. She was commanded by Captain Griefwold, addressed to nobody, and sold her cargo in the harbour.

† A sort of Turkish vessel, whose construction is peculiarly adapted to the Black Sea, without being fit, however, for any sort of navigation. These vessels, in fact, unable to lie on their sides in bad weather, are frequently lost upon the coast, when, being obliged to run before the wind, they have not enough sea room.

ing down with all her sails set. I observed, also, that this vessel, instead of coming to, in the anchorage of the others, kept the stream of the current, and steered her course between the castles: I then supposed that she was laden with ammunition, and was making for the magazine; but I soon perceived grappling irons at each end of the yard, and it then occurred to me, that the Porte, recollecting the request I had made of the Maltese slave for the construction of fire-ships, on his refusal, were anxious to replace him. But I was not a little struck with the fore-sight of hoisting grappling irons at sixty leagues distance from the enemy. The vessel, however, having passed the anchorage, a cannon shot from each bank, warned her to lower her sails, but without effect. I had gone into the castle of Asia to take a nearer view of this incendiary. A second gun, with shot, was fired; and when I saw that a third, pointed nearer to him, produced no more effect, and that he was about to pass us, I ordered him to be fired at, with the recommendation to do him as little damage as possible. The skill of the

the gunner luckily carried away only his figure head. But the confusion occasioned by this accident on board the vessel, made him soon bring to, and a detachment of the guard, sent on board to seize the captain, after anchoring the vessel, brought me this zealous Mussulman.

One must paint to oneself that ignorant fanaticism which devotes, and imagines itself alone equal to the destruction of the enemy's fleet, to form an idea of the fury of this madman on seeing himself stopped in his cruize, and brought before the tribunal of a Christian: we were all traitors in his eyes, who, in concert with the Russians, prevented him from going to avenge the true-believers for the disgrace of Tcheshmé. He reproached, also, the Turks around me, with the respect they shewed for me. Every effort was made use of to calm him, but he did not begin to listen to reason till the next day, when his head was sufficiently cool to make him sensible of all the follies his phrenzy had suggested.

Notwithstanding the pains taken by the

the Commissary of the Porte, to collect the inhabitants of neighbouring villages, who were able to work, to assist in raising the epaulements of the batteries, with the addition of some Jews, the number of workmen was still insufficient, and I could not undertake all the works at one time. Those of the Pointe des Barbier's, however, got forward, notwithstanding the plague, which daily carried off my workmen*. Obligated, however, to be in the midst of them, this distemper was not amongst the smallest of the disagreeable circumstances of my situation; but unable to avoid a necessary communication with them, I abstained only from all such as were not serviceable to my undertaking; and when a storm collected the workmen under tents, set up for that purpose, I continued in the rain, and I think I may attribute my escape from the disorder, to that sole precaution.

I have already observed, that the government took no care to provide subsistence

* On some days the plague carried off from the works at the Pointe des Barbier's alone, twenty workmen, several of whom did not survive three hours after the first symptoms of the disorder.

sistence for the workmen, who daily cursed them; and I would not lose that opportunity of making them bless me, by loading the boat that brought me, every morning, with water, melons, and bread, which I ordered to be distributed to the labourers before they went to work.

A Turkish inhabitant of the castle of Europe, one of the principal men of the district, after having assiduously attended to the works I had constructed, and made many attempts himself to bind the sauciflons, and place them, desires me to leave to him, the execution of a battery I had marked out at the Pointe des Moulins, situated in the neighbourhood. "My workmen are ready," said he; "I promise you they will work hard, and I only ask of you, to come sometimes and inspect me." The zeal and application of this Turk, prejudiced me in his favour; I willingly accepted his offer. The next morning the shore was covered with carts, laden with branches of trees, and I saw the engineer pointing out to the workmen the use they ought to make of them. Serupulously attached to my method,

my

my rival neglected nothing to regale, at his expence, the poor people who worked under his orders. This was one of the best finished batteries; and the Commissary of the Porte, astonished at his zeal and understanding, and still more struck at the expence he had incurred from pure disinterestedness, gave an account of it to the Porte, and received orders to commend his zeal, and make him a present of three hundred piasters by way of indemnity. Accordingly the Turk was sent for, and received, and receiving rather coldly, the compliments of the Commissary, absolutely refused the proffered recompence, adding, "That to receive the price of it, would be taking from the merit of the good work he had been engaged in, and that it would be too disgraceful for the Ottoman empire, to see a Frenchman sacrificing himself for its defence, whilst not a single Turk deigned to employ his talents or his fortune in so important a business." This excellent patriot remained unshaken, in spite of every solicitation; and the Commissary was all admiration when I reached his house; but he was still more surprised

prized not to be able to make me partake of his astonishment. "That is incredible to me," says he, looking at the fifteen piles of money, lying on the ground; "I cannot conceive it possible to refuse such a sum." In fact, nothing is so uncommon as to find a Turk scrupulous and delicate on that head.

The troops destined by the Grand Signior to the defence of the Streights, arrived from all parts. They composed a body of 30,000 men; 15,000 of whom were Asiatics, and 15,000 of Turkey in Europe. But this multitude, of whom I have already given an idea, more capable of creating confusion, than of serving to defend the batteries, could scarcely be kept in order by the severity of the Pacha, the whole extent of whose talents went no further, than to diminish the number of mutineers by the number of executions.

Notwithstanding the inconveniencies and embarrassments we suffered, from the undisciplined state of these troops, the necessity of presenting, at least, a numerous appearance of forces capable of imposing on the enemy, compelled us

to employ every method to prevent the desertions with which we were continually threatened. The expedient which appeared to me the most feasible, was to separate all the troops from the vicinity of their own respective dwellings, by an arm of the sea, passing the fifteen thousand Asiatics over into Europe, and the fifteen thousand Europeans into Asia. These dispositions made, the difficulty of escaping the rigorous punishment of their disorders, rendered them somewhat less frequent; but nothing could get the better of the cowardice of these wretches, who were not ashamed, loudly to declare their unwillingness to occupy the batteries. I laboured, however, to perfect them, and after having encircled, that of the *Barbier's*, with a covered way, to preserve it from a surprize by land; I came to the castles, where I had established my work-houses for the construction of gun-carriages, which we were in absolute want of. It was now a long time since any boat had entered the channel, when we saw one appear, filled with Turks armed to the very teeth: they were conducting seven unfortunate Greeks,

Greeks, owners of this little boat. The Turk, who appeared to have the command of them, lands, and announcing to the people assembled, a Russian prize, desires to speak to the Pacha. Being immediately introduced, he affirms that the prisoners are Russian spies; their sentence of death is instantly pronounced; but he makes a particular complaint against the insolence of one of these pretended spies, who, being master of the boat, and violently attacked, had dared to take aim at him; and, as a reparation for this outrage, demands the Pacha's permission to be himself his executioner. Whilst they were thus proceeding to judgment, and he was making this extraordinary demand, I was taking exact informations of the fact, to supply that formality which the justice of the Pacha made him totally neglect. I learnt that these unfortunate Greeks, inhabitants of Mitylene, had only been out a-fishing, and were no otherwise culpable, than in having resisted, on former occasions, the oppressions of the Turks: he had watched them, in consequence, on purpose to attack them under the specious

cious pretext of their being spies; and the execution followed the sentence so closely, that, unable to prevent it, by coming at the truth, I had only the horrid certainty of having seen the innocent perish.

I have already shewn, from the description of the castles, that the immense artillery they contained, could only be of use in the defence of the channel, by disposing them to more advantage. The Simois, that so celebrated river, but which is, in fact, only a small gulley, where the rain water, forming a torrent, rushes down the mountain, and falls into the sea below the castle of Asia. This appeared to me an advantageous situation for a battery, which, serving by way of epaulement to the castle, might contain a part of its artillery, and the approaches to which would be defended by this ravine. By this disposition, I took in the side of the castle which enfiladed the channel with its battery. It was with this view that the Turks had already placed there an enormous swivel, the ball of which, made of marble, weighed eleven hundred pounds. This piece, cast in bronze,

bronze, in the reign of Amurath, was composed of two parts, joined by a screw, at the separation of the chamber from the barrel, in the manner of an English pistol. The breech was supported by a mass of stone, and was only raised on great logs of wood, slanted, and disposed to that effect, under a small vaulted cover, which served as an embrasure. I could not employ this swivel in the external works, and as they were so arranged as to mask its fire, the Turks murmured at the sort of contempt with which I seemed to treat an implement of destruction, which was undoubtedly the most extraordinary in the universe. The Pacha made several remonstrances on the occasion. He agreed with me, that the difficulty of loading it, would not admit its being fired above once, in case of an attack; but he thought that single fire would do so much havock, and the ball fly so far, that, according to the general opinion, this swivel, alone, would destroy the enemy's whole fleet. It was easier for me to give way to this reasoning, than to overturn it; and, without changing the plan of defence, I could, by cutting
blow on the, and the down

down the epaulement in the direction of the piece, contrive to give it play; but I was desirous of first trying the effect of the ball. The company shuddered at this proposal; the old men assured me, from an ancient tradition, that this piece, which never had been fired, would produce such an agitation as to overturn the castle and the town. It was very probable, in fact, that some pieces of the wall might fall, but I assured them, that the Grand Signior would not regret that loss, and that the direction of the piece did not allow me to suppose that the town could suffer from the explosion. Never, doubtless, had cannon a more formidable reputation: friends, enemies, every thing was to suffer from it. It was now a month since the resolution had been taken to load this swivel, whose chamber contained three hundred and thirty pounds of powder. I sent for the master-gunner to prepare the priming; they who heard me give that order, disappeared immediately, to get out of the way of danger. The Pacha himself was preparing to retreat, and it was only by the most pressing instances, and the most accurate demonstrations, that he would run

run no risk in a little kiosk at the corner of the castle, from whence he might observe the effect of the ball, that I could prevail on him to occupy that post. I still had to overcome the fears of the master-gunner; and although he was the only person that had not fled, the arguments he used to excite my compassion, did not bespeak much bravery. It was only by promising him, therefore, to share in the danger, that I succeeded in allaying his fears, rather than inspiring him with courage. I was on the heap of stones behind the piece when he fired it; a commotion similar to that of an earthquake, preceded the report. I then saw the ball, split in three pieces, at the distance of six hundred yards across the channel, rebounding frequently from the water to the opposite hill, and leaving the surface of the sea foaming the whole breadth of the channel. This proof removed the chimerical apprehensions of the Pacha and the gunners, and convinced me of the tremendous effects of such a ball, and I ordered the epaulement to be cut accordingly in its direction.

This battery, which covered the castle, was intended to contain a part of the hea-

vy artillery, the carriages of which, since my arrival at the Dardanelles, I had ordered to be repaired in the most essential points, by a French carpenter I had procured for the purpose, and who, from his abilities, was of very great service to me on every occasion.

Amongst the number of pieces which were to serve on this battery, an enormous culverin, carrying sixty pound balls, was so incumbered with the vault, which served for an embrasure, that this inconvenience, joined to its great weight, baffled the ordinary means of removing these pieces. I demanded the tackling I stood in need of from the ships of war, but the Grand Signior's navy was so ill provided, that my researches were in vain. I could not help making some reproaches on the subject to the famous Hassan, now Captain Pacha, who was that time no more than the Admiral's flag Captain. This man, whom we have since seen distinguishing himself by his temerity, convinced me that he thought good will might supply the want of that knowledge which requires the most profound application. "What will you do," says he to me, with ropes and blocks?—

blocks?—What signifies taking this method, when we have hands enow at your service?—Show me the weight of what you want to move, and the place it is to be conveyed to ;—leave the rest to me.”

“What,” said I, “you will carry by the hand a gun that weighs 7000 lb. weight?—How many men will you put to this work?”—“Five hundred, if necessary,” replied he, briskly ; “what matters the number, provided the work be accomplished?” “I pereceive,” said I to Moldovandgi, who was present at this singular discourse, “that the brave Hassan thinks nothing impossible :—Let us see where his five hundred men will find room to place their hands.

Whilst Hassan was collecting his means, and we were preparing to go and judge of the use he would make of them, I sent my carpenter to bring half a dozen sailors from a French ship, with ropes and brass pullies, which I had in vain inquired for on board the Admiral’s ship. Arrived at the culverin with the Pacha, we soon saw Hassan, with his vigorous companions, make their appearance, all of them confident of the success for

which their leader had undertaken. But the first thirty who flew to the work, getting round the piece, where there was scarce room for them, reduced their comrades to be simple spectators of the vain efforts they made to move it. This first essay was renewed by others, whose endeavours were equally ineffectual. Hassan, piqued at these difficulties, was expressing his astonishment at the resistance he met with, and had just acknowledged his defeat, when the six sailors I had sent for arrived, with the necessary implements; every thing was soon got ready, and in less than a quarter of an hour, the piece was conveyed to the platform. It was still to be placed on its carriage; and on this occasion, Hassan imagining that my six sailors were by no means equal to the task, offered me the assistance of his. "To what purpose?" said I, in my turn; "four of my people are sufficient." I then sent for a crab, which I had ordered to be made, with the use of which the Turks are totally unacquainted, and it was with the most extreme admiration that they beheld this enormous piece raised

raised with ease by the exertions only of four men; a manœuvre by no means extraordinary elsewhere, but which produced a wonderful effect on Hassan and his companions.

We have already seen, that the Russian squadron, getting out of the reach of the red-hot shot, went to form the siege of Lemnos. Few nights, however, passed, in which terror, that sees every thing it fears, did not give us some alarm; and as soon as the cannon of the first castles were heard, from whence the shot was lavished on the first phantom the guards imagined they beheld, those of the Dardanelles thought they saw the enemy under their batteries. The confusion which reigned on such occasions, showed me plainly what was to be expected, in case of real danger. To make the Turks lose this habit of terrifying themselves at nothing, and to enable them to distinguish their enemy, before they had any thing to fear, I prepared fire-balls to be sent up on the first alarm. This expedient succeeded beyond my wishes; and so speedy a method of diffusing a quantity of light on the quarter of the ene-

my, soon persuaded the Turks, that as they could see them, without being themselves discovered, even the night itself was in their favour.

The works were completed, the artillery planted, the magazines of ammunition amply stored, and nothing remained but to man the batteries. But it was previously necessary to establish in the public opinion the fact, that works of twenty-two feet thick, secured men's lives from danger more than dry walls, which might crumble to pieces on the first volley; but habit prevailed. I had accounts from all parts, that the troops destined for the batteries, would only appear there to have the appearance of obedience, but with a firm intention of abandoning them on the first appearance of the enemy. I then determined on an expedient, which would have been highly ridiculous, had it not been the only method capable of convincing ignorance. I announced the proof of the batteries for the next morning, at ten o'clock. I went quite alone to that of the *Barbier's*, whilst my own people had orders to occupy the opposite battery, to point the guns

guns to the work which covered me, and to begin their fire as soon as the boat that conveyed me should be out of the line. There was a great crowd, eager to behold the new spectacle, and all the thirty-six round-shot burying themselves in the work, behind which I had placed myself, without doing any mischief, convinced the Turks that they might take my place without danger; they still gave a decided preference, however, to the battery which had been proved, and were with difficulty persuaded that all the others possessed the same advantage. The disposition of the works from the mouth of the channel, to the point of Nagara, where I established the last batteries, now presented an uninterrupted series of cross fires to the enemy, for the space of seven leagues. I had a right to presume, likewise, that not having attempted to force the passage when the channel was without defence, the Russians had abandoned the project. I was still further sensible, that my presence would be more useful at Constantinople, than at the Dardanelles, even for the defence of the castles, if I could succeed.

in improving the construction of gun-carriages, and the school of artillery, two objects equally interesting.

The little road of Nagara, where more than threescore European vessels were detained, afforded me the opportunity of hiring a French ship, on board of which I embarked, and which brought me within six leagues of Constantinople, where we met with contrary winds; but I was too impatient to pursue my operations, to give way to that difficulty, and procuring a boat with four oars, I was conveyed to the capital. My first care was to inform the government, that if Constantinople had no longer any thing to apprehend from the appearance of the Russian fleet, it was necessary to its tranquillity to prevent the little harassing descents the enemy might make in the Gulph of Efnos. No measures, in fact, had been taken to guard that coast; and although these incursions could have no other object than to lay waste some villages, such was the situation of the people's minds, that the news of the landing of two hundred men, swelling until it had reached the capital, might have

have produced the greatest confusion. These considerations, submitted by me to the Grand Signior, determined his Highness to raise his Selihtar to the dignity of Pacha with three tails, with the title of Seraskier on that coast. But I soon learnt, that this man, arrived at his post, was surrounded only by a few understrappers, more able to harass, than defend the country; and on my representing to the Visir the impropriety of trusting to a General without troops, "So much the worse for him," replied he, very coolly, "he is employed to defend the coast, if the enemy lands, his head shall answer for it!" When any nation can rest contented with such a security, nothing, doubtless, can preserve it from the horrors of war, but the negligence of its enemies; and it was to that circumstance alone, that the Porte was indebted for the first successes of Hassan.

This Turk, whom I had left at the Dardanelles, where we have seen him make very light of the mechanical powers, had conceived the project of embarking with four thousand volunteers,

in small boats, and without any artillery, to raise the siege of Lemnos, and drive away the Russian fleet. I had considered this as a mad expedition; nor could it, in fact, be justified, but on the presumption that there was not a single frigate on the look-out, to send all these adventurers to the bottom; that they would be able to effect their landing with such secrecy, as that the troops employed in the siege should receive no intelligence of it; that, surprized by Hassan, they should adopt no other measure than a shameful flight towards the harbour of St. Anthony; that pursued to the very shore, the protection of their squadron, far from encouraging them to make a stand, should only inspire them with a desire of taking refuge on board; and, in short, that after having compelled them to embark in the greatest disorder, Hassan, and his companions, pistol in hand, should from the beach behold a squadron of seven ships of the line weigh anchor with precipitation. I had thought it my duty to oppose this project at Constantinople; but after discussing it with the Visir, he coolly answered,

swered, " I conceive the folly of the plan proposed by Hassan ; but, at all events, it will be four thousand rascals the fewer ;—that is well worth a victory !" It was only in this point of view that the expedition was permitted to take place ; and it was with such inadequate means that the fortunate Hassan executed, or rather saw the execution, of an impossibility.

I had availed myself of the secret methods by which I approached the Grand Signior, to make this Prince sensible of the necessity of providing the artillery of the Dardanelles with carriages of a better construction, and with more skilful gunners. The Turkish army destroyed, or at least, totally routed, at the affair of Craoul, had already made his Highness imagine, that the quick firing of the Russian artillery was the principal cause of the discouragement of his troops. I was asked, by his orders, whether I could form gunners to that sort of exercise ? (unknown 'till then amongst the Turks *)

D. 5. and

* Their artillery was so badly served, that in a Journal of the Siege, sent by the Turks, they announced with emphasis, as something extraordinary, ' that after passing the whole night in loading, they had made a devil of a fire in the morning !'

and on my answer, he ordered the Visir and his Ministers to confer with me, and to countenance every measure I might deem useful on the subject.

If, when Constantinople was in imminent danger, from the burning of the Ottoman fleet, the Turkish Ministers saw me with pleasure accept a commission from the Grand Signior, that implied a degree of confidence of which they were not jealous, they did not with the same indifference behold that confidence extended to objects, from whose management they had been accustomed to gratify their own avidity, and that of their favourites. Sultan Mustapha, however, was too absolute, to suffer them to put the fanatical law, or rather absurd custom, in force against me, which forbids all true believers to avail themselves of the services of a Christian. Besides, the first difficulty had already been got over; and the Ministers, who began to be jealous of me, contented themselves with requiring that I should remain *incognito*.—The Grand Signior's name, which they made use of to make me assume the dress of an interpreter, under the

the specious pretext that the populace would be disturbed at seeing an European employed in matters hitherto intrusted only to Mussulmen, did not persuade me, either that the Grand Signior had himself expressed that ridiculous apprehension, or that the populace, after seeing me command at the Dardanelles, would be uneasy at my being employed in operations of much less apparent importance. For the present, however, I submitted to the low jealousy of the Ministers. I knew their weak side; the Grand Signior was desirous of employing me, and bent upon it; and his Ministers dreaded both his warmth of disposition, and the opinion he entertained of their incapacity. They were apprehensive, also, lest I should avail myself of the ascendance I had over him, to bring about some change in the Ministry. But if they were justified by their fears in their desire of getting rid of me, they ought to have considered, that they might possibly exchange an eventual danger, for the more certain one of incurring the displeasure of their master. Armed with this protection, therefore,
which

which it was in my power, at any time, to turn against them, I went to the Porte, assuming, at the same time, the solemn air adapted to my new dress and character.—I listened coldly to the different subjects which the Grand Visir was commissioned to discuss with me. The school for quick-firing was that which the Grand Signior wished me immediately to begin; and I perceived very plainly, from the earnestness with which the Visir urged this matter, that the Grand Signior had not given him the power to controul me in the means I might think proper to make use of. Continuing at our second conference, the next day, to affect an indifference and tardiness to set about it, which were by no means habitual, the Visir anxiously inquired if I was ill, or had any cause of discontent, which had diminished my zeal? “Not at all;” said I, “I only experience the natural effect of the dress you have put on me, which invites to indolence, and produces a sort of apathy, that already begins to gain upon me; and if you persist in making me wear it, I shall very soon be on a level with every thing.”

thing around me."—"You think then," says the First Minister to me, laughing, "that our dress has an influence on our activity? That is very possible," continued he; "but, however that may be, as the Grand Signior knows your activity, and wishes to make use of it, and would not be pleased with us if he saw it diminished, dress yourself as you think proper; ask us for what you want, and hasten, as much as possible, I beseech you, the preparations for the first proof of the quick firing, at which the Grand Signior intends to be present." The Porte sent me, the next morning, an artillery officer, in full dress, with orders to attend me every where; to precede me, staff in hand, and to look after the safety of my person, as well as to procure me free access to the founderies, the arsenals, and such other places as I might find it necessary to visit.

I luckily found two small four pounders, taken from the Russians in the war preceding the treaty of Belgrade; but they wanted mounting, and the necessary implements. The necessity of forming workmen to this new sort of labour,

bour, rendered this first attempt more disagreeable and difficult on account of the plague, which carried off that year one hundred and fifty thousand souls at Constantinople, and was still raging with the greatest violence. Compelled, personally, to direct the workmen, several of whom were attacked with this disorder, I had no other preservation than the salubrious air of the forges, to which I added the precaution of using only the end of my cane in giving directions; but what contributed still more, perhaps, to preserve me from this scourge, was my resolution not to give way to the melancholy ideas it presents.

The Jews, who invariably become masters of that industry which is neglected or despised, are in possession, at Constantinople, of all the works wherein hogs bristles are employed, and were of great service to me in the fabrication of rammers. I laboured so much in public, that none of my operations were unknown, but without being aware that any of them could give offence. I was informed that the Grand Signior proposed to assist at the first lessons I gave to a detachment

detachment of fifty Turkish gunners, who were to be my pupils. The Visir, hearing that my little artillery was ready, ordered tents to be prepared at Kiathana, the situation of the school, and I then understood, that instead of a visit from the Grand Signior, I should only receive one from his Ministers. I attended early in the morning to receive this little court. The chief of the artillery had preceded me, and made them salute me on my arrival, striving, no doubt, by this mark of politeness, which I took in good part, to conceal the little treachery he had prepared for me, and of which I had no idea.

From the order of march established for the Ministers of the Porte, all the inferior officers in the suite of the Grand Visir, arrived before him, and I began to suspect some affront, when I saw the Grand Treasurer make his appearance the first. I advanced to meet him. "Where are the pieces you have prepared?" said he, with an air of prepossession—"There," I replied, "in the middle of that crowd which surrounds them." Upwards of ten thousand people, in fact, had come from the city,

city, to see this method of firing the guns, so that it was with some difficulty we could get through the populace, who show no respect to persons, and only give way to violence. The first observation of the Grand Treasurer, opened my eyes to the trick they intended playing me. "What is that?" says he to me, pointing to a rammer, made in the form of a brush, to serve by way of sponge. I pretended not to perceive the drift of this question. "It is a rammer," replied I:—"Very well," said he, "but I ask you, What is that around it?"

Baron.

It is the sponge.

Treasurer.

That is not what I ask you. It seems as if you had forgot the Turkish language; but I must speak more plainly; what is the brush made of?

Baron.

It is possible I might not have understood you; but your eyes might inform you, that it is hair.

Treasurer.

That I see very clearly; but what sort of hair?

Baron.

Baron.

Oh! Since you are determined that I should name it, they are hogs bristles; the only hair proper for the purpose.

Treasurer.

And that is precisely what we cannot make use of.

Baron.

You must, however, resolve to make use of it; and if the Mufti's fetfa be necessary for that purpose, I undertake to procure it.

Here the crowd which surrounded us, and had already murmured amongst themselves, broke out into the general cry of, *God preserve us from it.* The Grand Treasurer turned pale, and taking me by the arm, "For God's sake," says he to me, with a trembling voice, "don't mention the name of the Mufti. Would you have us torn to pieces?" But I was so provoked at these absurdities, that, regardless of his advice, I said aloud, raising my voice, "What signifies this ridiculous clamour about hogs bristles, when all your Mosques are full of them?" These last words, which I had purposely let drop, completed the agitation,

tion of the people, and the terror of the Grand Treasurer, who already thought he saw the place flowing with blood. I mounted immediately on a gun-carriage, from whence viewing the multitude, whose fanatic murmurs were redoubled, the word *silence*, which I pronounced so firmly as to astonish them, served me instead of the right of commanding it. Profiting by the momentary calm I had produced, I cried out, "If there be a painter amongst you, let him appear and decide this matter." A venerable old man, raising his voice, says, "I am a painter; what would you have?"—"I wish," replied I, "if you are a good Mussulman, that you will tell the truth by answering the questions I am about to put to you." During this scene, the Grand Treasurer, as much amazed as any body, recovering from his fright, and suspecting that I wanted to make use of the painter to extricate us from our difficulty, made him approach, and ordered him to be accurate in his answers.

The Baron (to the Painter.)

Have you ever painted the inside of a Mosque?

Painter.

Painter.

Several of the most considerable ones:

Baron.

What tools did you make use of?

Painter.

Of several colours.

Baron.

Remember you are a Mussulman, and that you owe homage to the truth. Why do you equivocate? A colour is not a tool; it is only one of the means; you make use of brushes: Of what were your large ones made?

Painter.

They are of white hair—we buy them ready made—we do not make them.

Baron.

You know, however, what animal's hair it is; and that is what you must tell me.

The Treasurer (to the Painter.)

Yes; you must tell the truth; it is of importance to know it.

The Painter (to the Treasurer, raising his voice.)

In that case, your Excellency, I will tell it; all our painting brushes are of hogs bristles.

The

The Baron (to the Painter.)

Very well; but this is not all: What becomes of the hair after you have done with your painting brushes? and, when the Mosque is finished, what do you carry home with you?

Painter.

I faith, I have never brought any thing back but the handles; the hair is left sticking to the walls.

Baron.

You see, then, that as the hogs bristles do not defile your Mosques, there can be no harm in making use of them against your enemies.

The cry of, *Praise to God!* was the unanimous answer of the people; and the Grand Treasurer, transported with a joy the more lively, as it succeeded to fear, pulls off, in a moment, a magnificent pelice of Siberian marten, throws it on the ground, gets hold of one of the rammers, plays it about in the piece; "Come my friends," says he, "let us make use of this new invention for the safety and glory of all true-believers."

The ridiculous termination of this scene was undoubtedly worthy of the subject.

subject. The Treasurer was contented, and the people enchanted ; but this proof of their general folly would have determined me to abandon them there, had not even the difficulties themselves been a sort of spur to me, which it was impossible to resist.

This transaction being related to the Visir, and the other Ministers on their arrival, disposed them for the applauses they bestowed on the agility of the gunners, which did not make them exceed, however, five shot in a minute, in this first attempt. This was, doubtless, a great deal for the Turks ; and one might have hopes that younger men than they had given me, would only require exercising for some time, to arrive at the desired degree of perfection. Several Turks, even amongst the spectators, offered to enter into the service ; but every body found fault with the crooked rammers, and imagined, that by simplifying that instrument, it might be rendered more commodious. This popular observation had reached the Visir's tent before my arrival. My little troop had followed me there, and the Grand Treasurer, always

ways the first to speak, began by proposing the straight rammer as the easiest. I combated this opinion, and pointed out the danger to which the gunners would be exposed. "Good!" replied he, gaily;—"A few gunners more or less—What does that signify, provided the Grand Signior be well served?" This observation appeared to me so indecent, and the occasion of revenging myself on this Minister, and of ingratiating myself with the people, so favourable, that raising my voice so as to be heard by the gunners, who lined the door of the tent, I answered him, "That not being able to separate the Grand Signior's interest from the preservation of his subjects, I would never allow myself to treat them so wantonly; and that I would sooner renounce the glory of serving him, than have to reproach myself with the smallest accident." This short harangue, by exciting a sudden murmur amongst the gunners, and the people assembled in a crowd behind, extorted the applauses of the Visir; and when I went out to make them renew the exercise, the troop of gunners, still inflamed with what they

had heard, pressed around me, lifted me from the ground, returned thanks to God for my answer, and frequently repeated, with a very loud voice,—“ A few Treasurers, more or less—What does that signify, provided the Grand Signior be well served?”

The second part of the exercise was scarcely finished, before the Grand Visir desired to speak to me. “ Your essay has succeeded so well,” says he, “ that we can no longer doubt of success, when you have taken all the necessary measures, on which subject we shall desire the Grand Signior’s orders; but as it is customary for all the offices to be kept shut during our absence from the Porte, and as our excursions are a sort of recreation we very seldom enjoy, and which we willingly prolong, I should be glad if you would make the gunners fire at a mark; you will stay with us in the meantime, and we will converse together, which will serve to amuse us.” A butt I had made them erect in the face of the Visir’s tent, had given him, undoubtedly, this idea. In vain did I object to him, that the pieces were too short; that

that they would very ill answer the object proposed; and that no shot would touch the butt, where there was, besides, only one piquet.—“That’s of no consequence,” says he; “they will make a noise, and that is all we want.” The pieces were immediately drawn up before the Visir’s tent, from whence we amused ourselves for some time with observing the shot, which, as I had foreseen, went sometimes to the right, and sometimes to the left. During this business, which afforded sufficient amusement for the Ministers of a great empire, the Treasurer, always ready to distinguish himself, and who had never ceased to reproach the gunners with their want of skill, announced to us that he was going to try his. He rises immediately, takes off his pelice, tucks up his cloaths, takes possession of one of the pieces, and making one of his servants assist him, he employs his whole attention in pointing it well. Curious to examine it closer, and watching some opportunity of punishing him for the adventure of the morning, I rose to get nearer to him, and made a sign to the gunner to offer him the match, that
I might

I might amuse myself with his embarrassment, in making use of it: his hand trembled so much, that he never could direct it to the powder.—“What, then, you come here to give us lessons, and are afraid!” I seized his hand at the same time, and directed it to the priming; but he had pointed it so ill, that we could not observe the direction of the ball.—“You are as awkward as the rest of them,” says the Visir to him, on our entering; “and I am very certain there is nobody but Tott who can give us lessons.” Then, addressing himself to me, “You ought,” continued he, “to show the Treasurer how to hit the butt.”—“I shall have no better success,” replied I; and whilst he was insisting on the one hand, and I was objecting on the other, to an experiment, the result of which might induce them to imagine, that I knew no more of the matter than themselves, the King of France’s principal Interpreter, who had accompanied me to Kiathana, says to me, in French, “Why not make the trial? Perhaps you will touch it.” The Visir remarking, from his manner, that he was urging me to

satisfy them, redoubled his instances, and reduced me, at length, to the necessity of pointing one of the pieces. But I was so sure of missing, that, except by placing it in the direction of the butt, I took no pains to hit the mark. Every body, however, admires my alertness; the gunner prepares his port-fire; all eyes are fixed on me; the piece is fired; and I really partook of the general astonishment on seeing the piquet cut which marked the centre of the butt. The cry of *Machalla!** resounded from every quarter. The Interpreter applauded himself for his prophecy; and the Visir, whom I tried to persuade that it was only a chance shot, said to me, with the significant smile of a man who thinks he has penetrated some great mystery, "Be it so: it is by chance; but this proof is sufficient; we want no other; and have no doubt that chance will always befriend you." I made many fruitless efforts to remove so ridiculous a prejudice; but the whole of this day's transactions seemed destined to disclose to me the ignorance

* Machalla—(what God has done!) an expression of the highest admiration.

rance of the Turks. I obtained the double advantage, however, of having overcome the difficulties it wished to oppose to innovations, and of having gained the good opinion of the multitude.

The Grand Signior, to whom his officers gave an account of this first essay, immediately gave orders to send able gunners, and every thing necessary for this new invention, to his army. The spirit of this order was unquestionable, but they contented themselves with obeying its literal construction. Several bales of English shalloons, purchased to make 20,000 cartouch-boxes, made very good summer dresses for those who inspected the business; fifty four-pounders, badly cast, but with new rammers, were put on board without carriages, because the order had not mentioned them. The fifty gunners had orders to accompany them to Varna, where they must necessarily leave their cannon buried in the sand of the beach, for want of means to transport them; and this was the whole fruit of the punctuality of the Grand Signior's Ministers. This Prince was not long in hearing of the small success of the

pains he had given himself; and the Visir who commanded the army, having represented to his Highness the necessity of providing him with pontoons, and persons versed in the art of using them, (a method until then unknown amongst the Turks) Sultan Mustapha gave me that commission: he ordered, also, that it should be left entirely to me.

Convinced, from long experience, of the misapplication of sums intended for useful services, the Prince insisted, above all, that the Treasury should only account with me for such expences as should be occasioned by my work. "You may," says the Visir to me, "take what money will be necessary for you; it shall be delivered you on your simple receipt:—and this mark of our Emperor's confidence ought to be the more flattering to you, as he places it in none of us." "I esteem infinitely the motive of his confidence," replied I, "but I shall never allow myself to make use of it; and full of the zeal for every thing interesting to the service of his Highness, there is nothing I would refuse, except the handling of his money." The Testerdar, and the

the Reis Effendi, called to this conference I had with the Prime Minister on the subject of the making of pontoons, joined him in urging me to conduct the whole business, without restriction. But I persisted in asking for an honest man, who alone should be accountable for the money. An honest man!" replied the Visir, with vivacity,—“Where shall we find him?—As for me, I know of none.—Do you know such a man?” addressing himself to the Grand Treasurer.—“No:”—answered he. The Visir, turning at length to the Reis Effendi,—“And you—Can you name us an honest man?” “Less than any body;” said he, laughing.—“I am acquainted with none but rogues.” “You see, then,” says the Prime Minister, “that you ask for what is impossible.—See to what we are reduced!—There is one measure, however, to be adopted;—we can remedy the disorder, by striking off a few heads.”—I was the more shocked at this solution of the difficulty, from knowing that these judges, so rigorous towards the crimes of others, were themselves the real cause
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of them; and, unable to resist my desire of giving them a proof of it, by citing a recent example, "I know," replied I, "that your Highness is the depository of the Sovereign authority; but from the very circumstance of its emanation from God, you can only make use of it with justice."—"Do you think, then," says he, interrupting me, "that one loses sight of justice in punishing robbers?" "Yes, doubtless," replied I; "when they are authorized robberies, they are no longer punishable. What right have you, for example, to be severe against the depredations of the Inspector of the frontiers, whom you sent off last week, with a commission to examine the strong places, and see that they are properly furnished with provisions? His appointment cost him twenty purses, his equipage and expences must have cost him as much more; there is no salary attached to his place:—Is not this giving a tacit consent to the hope which this man entertains of doubling what he has advanced?—Would it be just to call him to account for the abuses resulting from his
situation.

situation †? Sultan Soliman," added I, "of glorious memory, when he established Inspectors over all the departments of administration, allotted them salaries proportioned to their employments; he had, of consequence, the right of punishing them. To suppress reasonable emoluments, is to authorize rapine which is their natural substitute.—Pay the Treasurer what I ask of you,—I will answer for his honesty." During this harangue, my audience were looking at each other; and the Visir, far from making any objections, said to his colleagues, "I did not think he knew us so well!"—It was at length determined, that since I persisted in desiring a person to have the management of the money, they would propose Chamlu-Husseïn Efendi to the Grand Signior for that place. "He shall have a salary; but," added the Visir, laughing, "we do not advise you to answer for his integrity."

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† It was on the report of an inspection made on these principles, that during the negociation of Belgrade, the Porte assured M. de Villeneuve, that the fortress of Oczakow was perfectly well provisioned; and it was taken a short time after for want of the stores necessary for its defence.

The Grand Signior was too anxious to see me employed in the construction of the pontoons, to make me wait for the nomination of a new Intendant; and Chamlu-Huffein, who had been with the last Turkish Ambassador in France, soon convinced me, that the Visir had not made choice of him to œconomize the expences incidental to my undertaking. I established my work-houses at the arsenal; and whilst I was superintending the making of the carcasses, the body of braziers employed to prepare the sheets of copper, brought me every day such samples, as evinced that they were badly executed from design, more than from want of skill. The ability of these workmen in handling copper is, in fact, so well known, that without entertaining a suspicion of their real motives, I persisted in requiring better workmanship from them; until, at length, these unfortunate people, driven to despair, and not daring to explain themselves in the presence of the overseer, took the resolution of privately appealing to my humanity to relieve them from the threatened persecution. The chief of that community,

community, deputed for the purpose, acknowledged to me, that the awkwardness of his comrades was only feigned. "You have already discovered," said he, "a part of our secret; I am come to instruct you with the whole affair.—The Porte is determined to make us liable to the price of *Miry**. We are ruined, if you employ us; and we shall be severely punished, if you complain of us:—Our fate is in your hands!"—These two alternatives were alike embarrassing; but I made no scruple to relieve them from the disagreeable result. Under pretence of the advantage of light pontoons, I informed the Porte the next day, that I would make them be sheathed with leather. This was, undoubtedly, relieving the braziers at the expence of the tanners, but the cheapness of the expedient rendered it at least less burthensome.

A company of Janissaries, employed only for the fire-engines, and who lived

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* The *Miry*, or Exchequer of the Turks, enforces the barbarous, but uneconomical law of paying at so low a rate for all the public works, that the government, and the persons employed, equally suffer.

in barracks, in the arsenal, furnished me great numbers of workmen, accustomed, by working at the leather pipes, to the art of sewing and preparing the sheathing of the pontoons. The Chief of this company had orders to assist me: this was a real windfall for him, which procured me his good-will, and animated his zeal. I was employed about the different objects which this work required, when the Grand Signior urged me to throw some pontoons over the river at Kiathana*, in order to try if that sort of bridge,

* A paper-mill, formerly established on this river, has given it this name, as well as to the meadow through which it runs. This little river, which falls into the sea at the bottom of the harbour of Constantinople, and which is called also the Fresh Water, is particularly celebrated from the Palace built on it by Sultan Achmet, three quarters of a league from the capital. It is made use of by the Grand Signior, only, for his parties of pleasure, or to assist at the exercise of the artillery, where the train is established; but some cascades, which decorated the Palace, are still extant. On the sides of the valley, too, are to be seen some ruins of the houses built for the grandees. This clumsy imitation of Marly, the idea of which was given by the father of the last Turkish Ambassador, was destroyed by the rebels who dethroned Sultan Achmet.

bridge, which was the incessant object of ignorant calumny, really answered the purpose of transporting the artillery. I went to the arsenal every day; and one morning, in so slippery a frost, that in spite of every precaution, I could not avoid a fall, which sprained my left foot. I felt nothing, for the moment, but a great stiffness; and I was going on, leaning upon my servant, when after a few steps, the pain became so great, that I could scarcely reach the barracks of the Janissary fire-men, by one of the gates of their garden, which was luckily open.—The Colonel was not there, but the soldiers were very desirous to offer me every assistance they thought I stood in need of. One offered me coffee, another a pipe, and another asked if I chose any thing to eat; but none of them had the smallest idea of what might be really of service. Although I had nearly fainted away, I had recollection enough to perceive, that with such doctors, I could not, without great danger, give way to my extreme pain. I collected, therefore, all the strength I was master of, and made them take off my shoe and stocking, to plunge

plunge my foot into cold water ; and the Janissaries, who would never have dreamt of this remedy, having no other machine, brought the cooking kettle of the company *. This cold-bath was, doubtless, the only means of procuring me an eventual relief ; but it increased my sufferings for the time to such a degree, that during the three-quarters of an hour I had to stay till a sedan-chair was sent for, I could only keep myself from fainting away by smelling at vinegar, and by making them throw water on my face. The Janissaries were astonished that I should prefer these remedies to the wine and coffee which they continually offered me.—This accident was known to too many to be long concealed, and I had scarcely reached my own house, before the Visir sent to express the concern it gave him. Even the Grand Signior was

* The respect in which the pot of the company is held, can only be compared to that which we bestow on our colours :—The troop is dishonoured if it be left in the hands of the enemy. It is from this prejudice that the Colonel is called, Giver of Soup ; the Major, Chief of the Kitchen ; and that the Scullions and Water-carriers, are the Adjutants of the company.

was so good as to make inquiries after me; but that Prince was too active to allow me the rest I stood in need of; he pressed me to pursue my labours, and the advice he gave me to be carried, and to neglect no means of effecting my cure, only proved that he was impatient to see the pontoons.

The third day after my fall, I returned to my work-shops, and the bridge was soon thrown over the river Kiathana, opposite the kiosk of the Grand Signior. Sultan Mustapha chose to be a personal witness to the success of the undertaking. He gave orders to the Arrabadgi-Bachi*, to send four pieces of cannon to the new bridge, and his Highness gave me notice to be there after the morning prayer, as well as Chamlu-Husseïn Effendi. We had just arrived, when a boat appeared with three pair of oars, such

* The Chief of the Carriages:—This post was established by Sultan Soliman, who founded an establishment at the same time for the support of four thousand horses, to draw the artillery; but the royal domains appropriated to that use, having been successively granted away to favourites, the service attached to these grants was soon forgotten; and the cannon was dragged to Kiathana by horses taken from the mills.

such as is daily used by the people, but so easily distinguishable, that our boatmen were not deceived in their conjectures. In fact, it was the Grand Signior, whom we saw land from it in the dress of an Oda-Bachi*. He was accompanied by two of his people, dressed like Janissaries, who went out of the way immediately on their arrival, whilst Hussein Bey, and myself, accompanied Sultan Mustapha to the bridge, the structure of which he examined with a great deal of attention. He made them pass the artillery over several times, and neglected none of the particulars from which he might derive information respecting the manner of conveying and making use of these military bridges. The Prince, who had kept me a long time standing upon my feet, perceiving that I suffered, spoke to me of my accident with concern; and my satellite, thinking to pay his court to his master, by saying a great deal of my activity, dwelt on the life of fatigue I led him, by which he only proved

* Chief of the Quarters:—This military charge answers to that of Captain; and amongst the Turks, the different ranks and professions are distinguished by the form of the turban.

proved his own idleness. "You don't know, then," says the Grand Signior to him, "the reason of this difference between you?—I'll tell you what it is.—When Tott was born, he fell on his feet, and immediately set out a running; but you fell on your backside, where you have remained!" If this apostrophe humbled the courtier, he was soon consoled for it, by the order he received from his master on embarking, to distribute a bag of sequins* amongst my people. The quickness with which Sultan Mustapha returned to his boat, made him overlook a step in coming out of his kiosk, which would have exposed him to a very dangerous fall, had we not immediately supported him. Whilst the Prince, in going to his boat, was applauding the success of the new bridge, and urging me to push forward the works necessary for the completion of pontoons for his army, I observed Hussein wholly taken up in making a hole in the little bag.

* The Sequin is a piece of a gold, of different values, but the sequin most in use, is worth about seven livres, or five shillings and tenpence, English.

bag of sequins he had in his pocket §, to mix them with his own; so that confounding his generosity with that of the Prince, my colleague contented himself with bestowing ten sequins on each of my people, thinking he might very conscientiously reserve, at least, two hundred for himself.

The Visir, and the Ministers of the Porte, were extremely jealous of the interview I had just had with their master; and under the specious pretext of letting the people partake of a sight as usual, as it was new to Constantinople, but really with the sole view of rotting the pontoons, they ordered that this bridge should remain on the river until further orders. The care of the workmen who looked after it, prevented the bad effects of this low jealousy; the people availed themselves of it; the bridge was for forty days the principal object of curiosity; but the necessity of opening the navigation of the river, obliged the Ministers to

§ The Turks have always their under habits crossed, and fastened by a girdle, which holds every thing they put under these lapelles, between the lining of which there are pockets for their watches, money, and other articles of value.

to wait for another opportunity to injure me.

I had settled it with the Grand Signior, that the fifty pontoons destined for the army, should be accompanied by a sufficient number of men acquainted with the use of them, and by a commander who should learn to give the necessary directions ; but this essential article was precisely that which was neglected. All the necessary implements were sent off, every thing was on the way to join the the army, and the chief of the pontooners repaired thither with his troop, without deigning to become acquainted either with me, or with the pontoons.

The expedition of these different articles, therefore, served only to incumber the port of Varna; and the Grand Visir very soon totally forgot what he had the most earnestly solicited of the Porte.

The Ottoman army was remaining inactive about Babagdag, where it had been three years incamped. The provision for its supply, which the ignorance of their Generals could not estimate, and which it became at length necessary to calculate, from the multitude of volunteers

teers who had unexpectedly arrived, offering alternately the picture of abundance, or of famine,—profusion, or complaint,—increased the want of discipline to such a degree, as to brave that authority which wanted energy to enforce it. Despotism, the art of which consists not in preserving, but whose excellence lies in destruction, took this opportunity of conferring the office of Janissary-Aga on Abdir-Pacha, in order to place the civil administration of the whole army in the hands of a man who had the reputation of an executioner. And his first care; in fact, was to sink deep wells, and his daily occupation was to fill them with dead soldiers, whom he ordered to be strangled on the slightest pretences, and without any examination. Abdir-Pacha had not been three months in office, before the public reproached him with the death of more than thirty thousand men; and the government congratulated themselves in having discovered so efficacious an expedient to insure plenty and good order. The methods made use of by the Turks to surprize their enemies, are no less singular. The Grand Treasurer.

furor has been seen commanding a detachment by night, lighted by the flame of resinous wood, disposed for that purpose in iron machines fixed on the end of long poles. Abdir-Pacha received the surname of *Maker of Wells*, and the Grand Treasurer was thenceforward known only by the name of *The Blazer*.

Besides the ignorance of the Turks, it is also a fact, that their army was destitute of a train of field pieces, which cannot be dispensed with even by the greatest talents. The founderies, already established, could not be employed. All the process was carried on in furnaces of *Usine**, and the brass, calcined by the action of the bellows, and then cooled at the bottom of the basins, fell in a sort of paste into the moulds, the defects of which added another imputation to the pieces that came out of them. I proposed setting up a reverberating furnace, and a machine for boring the pieces. The scheme of melting without bellows, of running the metal whole, and then boring, made the Turkish foundrymen laugh. But the Grand Signior had gi-

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* Furnaces used for casting iron.

ven me his confidence : he ordered his Ministers to confer with me on the subject, and they very soon took every means to ruin the undertaking. The first measure they made use of, was by rejecting my proposal of inviting to Constantino-ple such workmen as I stood in need of, the list of whom I presented to the Visir. " You propose to me such extraordinary things," replied the Prime Minister, " that our most skilful artists look upon them as impossible. Begin, by proving to us that they will be successful ; make one piece only, such as you talk of ; it will then be time enough to send for the workmen you demand." So absurd an answer would have justified me, no doubt, in abandoning the Turks to the consequences of their own folly, and it really shocked me ; but shutting my eyes to the boldness of the undertaking, we agreed that I should go the next day, with one of the officers of the Porte, to make choice of the place for the establishment of the new foundery. I had no sooner taken this wise resolution, however, than reflecting on the enormity of the labour, I set my brain to work by what

what means to accomplish it. M. le Comte de St. Priest could not be ignorant of any of my proceedings; and that Ambassador had, besides, a personal claim to my confidence, from the sanction he gave to every thing I undertook in order to increase my reputation with the Porte, with a zeal to be found amongst very few men in his situation. The project of forming an intire new train of artillery, appeared to him as arduous an undertaking as could possibly be attempted; and when I told him what had passed, and the Visir's answer on refusing the workmen, he was so full of indignation, that interrupting me, briskly, "I hope," says he, "that you have sent them a begging!"—"Not at all," replied I; "I have embraced their proposal." The calmness of my answer, however, did not satisfy M. de St. Priest; his prudence calculated all the inconveniencies; his enlightened understanding foresaw all the difficulties, which were exaggerated by his friendship; and I could only make him easy by answering for success. But the truth is, that this was a circumstance of which
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it was as necessary to convince myself. I had never seen a foundery, and my taste for the arts, which had always made one of my amusements, had never inclined me towards that with which nobody can be amused. The study I was obliged to make of it, therefore, became a very serious labour for me ; and I did not go to the rendezvous with the Grand Treasurer, who was named to accompany me in looking out for a spot of ground for the new foundery, until I had studied well the position, and nature of the soil proper for such an establishment; but in vain did we examine every situation which seemed likely to suit me : there was always some objection ; and I saw clearly that the jealousy of the Ministers was such, as to enter into an alliance with the very waves of the sea to frustrate my enterprise by placing me on its banks. It would undoubtedly have been more prudent to have taken advantage of this fresh obstacle, to give up the undertaking altogether ; but it requires no common difficulty to make one abandon a favourite, though an ill-judged project. I only observed, therefore, that it would cost the
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the Grand Signior more money, adding, rather peevishly, to let the Grand Treasurer see that I saw through his intention “ That if he would not husband his master’s treasure, I would establish the foundery in the middle of the harbour. The Chéir-Emini *, was ordered to pay the expences, and a Greek, who called himself an architect, was to collect the workmen, and see that they executed my orders. I had studied the original plan, and found means to keep off the water; but was perpetually under the necessity of uniting practice with theory; of being at the same time architect, mason, stone-cutter, blacksmith, and locksmith. My plans were of no service but to myself; no other person could make any thing of them; there was no analogy whatever, between the work I ordered, and that to which the workmen were accustomed; and to overcome the difficulty of bad habit, I have often been obliged to put the mason to the forge, and give the trowel to the blacksmith. A Greek, however, skilled in the art of making

* The Intendant of the City.—His post is more strictly analogous to that of superintendant of the buildings.

making mills, displayed some understanding and neatness in the construction of the machine for boring. The Memoirs of St. Remy, and the Encyclopediæ, were my daily guides, and answered my purpose until the moment when it became necessary to make the moulds; but there I was stopt short. The earth of the *Chartreux*, the only earth which is mentioned, without pointing out its composition, giving me no sort of information from which I might form something analogous, I had recourse to a mixture of clay, sand, and plaster, as a substitute. Every thing, in short, being prepared for putting the fire to the furnace, I filled it with 30,000 lb. of metal; and the matter having been in fusion thirteen hours, during which time I was obliged to support alone the fatigues of a labour which nobody could partake with me, I cast at day break twenty-five cannon, with a success which surprized and enchanted the Turks, made M. de St. Priest easy, and astonished me more than any body. I then made no scruple of confessing to the Ambassador, that this was the first time I had ever seen metal cast.

cast. He trembled at the rashness of the undertaking, which might, in fact, incur the imputation of folly; but it cannot be denied, that a sort of obstinacy of the will and docility in the execution, are two powers which the greatest obstacles are seldom able to resist.

All the absurdities and calumnies which ignorance and knavery had circulated to my disadvantage, disappeared. The possibility of melting, without bellows, was now demonstrated; and the boring machine very soon left no doubt of the perfection of the new undertaking. The Porte no longer opposed the sending for such workmen as I wanted. The list I had presented was agreed to; but the person at Marseilles, to whom I applied, had made so bad a choice of the founder, that I was always obliged to superintend the casting, and at length to dismiss this man, as soon as my carpenter, whom I employed for every thing, was able to replace him.

Whilst I was labouring at Constantinople, to furnish the Turks with a better train of artillery, that of the Russians, acting on the Danube, ensured the Grand

Visir's countenance in my operations. A few bombs, fired *à ricochet*, having dispersed the Ottoman cavalry, the Porte anxiously demanded some mortars for the same purpose, and some bombardiers who were able to serve them. The plain of Ocmeidon § was chosen for making the proofs, which I was desired to prepare. Every thing being in readiness, the Ministers of the Porte, always anxious to be my judges, fixed on the next day; but the Grand Signior sent them orders to attend to their affairs, telling them, he should himself be present at Ocmeidon. This intelligence, which did not reach me till very late, obliged me to set out at day-break to arrive before the retinue which precedes the Grand Signior. I had taken care to prepare in the evening, every

§ Ocmeidon, or the Plain of Arrows, a part of which is strewed with small columns, covered with inscriptions. Their distances point out the flight of the arrows, and the names of those who shot them. Almost all the Turkish Emperors have had the vanity to pretend to this celebrity. Ocmeidon is also the place where the entertainments are usually given on occasion of the circumcision of the Ottoman Princes. The Grand Signior has a very handsome kiosk there, and all the buildings necessary for the court.

every thing necessary for the experiments; and under this care was comprized the reserve I had made of charging the bombs myself, to avoid all uneasiness on the score of the accidents which might result from the least negligence in that respect. The croud of people which were gathering, and increasing every moment, gave me reason to applaud my foresight; but the imprudence of the populace still made me afraid of the dangers to which their ignorance was the more likely to expose them; for not being accustomed to see bombs fired in the air, the Turks could not be persuaded that I had any occasion for an open space before the mortars, and I was obliged to wait the arrival of the Grand Signior before I could arrange the pieces. The Chéir-Emini §, who was given me for a colleague

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§ Chéir-Emini, Intendant of the City, and more particularly of the Seraglio. He inspects all the public buildings, and those of the Grand Signior. He has also the privy purse, and executes, by commission, every thing respecting the extraordinary expences; but this office, as well as all the offices under the Turkish government, by partaking of so monstrous an administration, cannot be compared to any employments in the European governments.

in this experiment, was walking far and wide with his white staff in his hand †, when an officer of the Seraglio, riding full speed, ordered him to place himself with me at the foot of the stairs where his Highness was to land, adding, that I must carry the white staff, with which I was instantly provided. Sultan Mustapha soon appeared : he saluted me graciously ; and his son, Sultan Selim, who accompanied him, examined me from head to foot with the most minute attention. M. le Comte de St. Priest, curious to see this exhibition, had arrived on horseback some time before the Grand Signior, and placed himself in one of the apartments adjoining the kiosk where his Highness and his son were seated. Mustapha was instantly informed of this circumstance ; and I have since learnt, that it was the cause of a sort of circumspection which the Grand Signior assumed, for fear of displeasing M. de St. Priest. These little particulars will cease to appear too minute, when we consider that they develop the character of the nation of whom they are related.

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† This Staff is the mark of a Commander.

The Chéir-Emini and I, remained at the stations severally assigned us, and were expecting the Grand Signior's orders, when the Selictar-Aga came from his Highness to inform me, that I might begin firing the bombs, *à ricochet*, when I thought proper; I represented to him that the croud which surrounded us, exceeding twenty thousand souls of every age and sex, ought to be removed from before the mortar, so as to leave it entirely open. Twenty Assequis, †, with uplifted staves, immediately drove back the populace; but it was not so easy to arrange them, as to leave a free opening for the bombs, the rebounds of which depend only on a greater or less horizontal direction. He made, at length, a hollow space, about twenty toises large, F 3 but

† Assequis—A sort of chosen Bostandgis, a detachment of which always accompanies the Grand Signior: they are armed with sabres, and carry a white staff, which indicates the command of the Grand Signior, which they are to execute. The Assequis, also, in troops, perform the duty of the Morechaussée, in the neighbourhood of the Court.—They, as well as the Bostandgis, are on horseback, except when the Grand Signior goes out, when they precede him on foot.

but so deep, that it was to be feared, lest the first rebound happening in its extent, some inequality of the ground might send the shell amongst the spectators. In this case the people would indisputably have thrown the blame on me, which would have arisen solely from their ignorance; the first shell, however, touching the ground beyond the multitude, set me more at ease. Six bombs had been already fired off, there now remained only the seventh and last, which I had charged, as I have said before, with the greatest care: it is launched; alights in the middle of the hollow space; remains there, and the match continues burning. This critical suspense lasted twenty tedious seconds, during which time my anxiety saw nothing but the future victims of an accident as singular as it was unforeseen. Not one of the assistants, however, stirs. This shell was gazed upon with as much curiosity as the preceding ones: luckily it did not burst. I then took breath, and the examination I made on this bomb, convinced me that it had been loaded agreeable to rule. I never could discover the cause of so fortunate an exception.

tion. Nobody had time to perceive my uneasiness; and this event was applauded as a little trick by which I thought proper to determine the experiments. Every one even boasted of not having been afraid; and some shells fired from an eleven inch mortar, pointed against a tent placed at the distance of six-hundred toises, by knocking down the butt, completed the satisfaction of the Grand Signior, and some Beyeux who had got together. His Highness had brought with him a pelice of ermine, with which he intended to cloath me; but, as I have already insinuated, the presence of M. le Comte de St. Priest, which he had not foreseen, determined him to omit that distinction, from fear of displeasing the King's Ambassador, for whom he had not prepared one. The most conciliating expedient they could hit on, was to send me to the Porte to receive this testimonial of the Grand Signior's satisfaction. One of the officers of his suite, ran to carry his orders there, and the Chéir-Emini was to conduct me. The people, however, who had applauded the proofs, and who were in expectation

tion also of seeing me rewarded, astonished, at first, to see me taken to the Porte, soon began to believe that it was to punish me, and concluded by thinking it very just.

The Grand Visir, apprized of my arrival, was waiting for me in the audience hall, where all the Ministers were assembled. I there received their congratulations on the satisfaction of the Grand Signior. "His Highness," says the Prime Minister to me, "has ordered me to give you some public marks of it." He then made a sign to the Master of the Ceremonies, to cloath me in a pelice of ermine; and the Hasnadar*, arriving at the same time, presented me with a purse of 200 sequins. I turned round immediately towards the persons who had accompanied me, and showing my pelice, "I receive with gratitude," said I, "this distinguished mark of the Grand Signior's favour; return thanks to the Grand Visir for this *money* which he makes you a present of." This expedient, which I preferred to a discussion of our respective customs, was a sufficient lesson for the Grand

Grand Visir, and saved me from offending their Oriental politeness †. It was at the close of day when I quitted the Porte, and I did not arrive in the suburb of Pera until night. Two officers, one of the artillery, and the other of the navy, who were ordered to accompany and guard me, were going before me on the two opposite foot-ways. I was not more than thirty paces from my own house, when the navy officer I was following was stopped by some persons in the dark, who, coming up to him roughly, demand what corps he is, and, on his answering, fire a brace of pistols at him, who returns the fire: the officer of artil-

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† This Turkish custom of giving money, was what gave M. de Bonneval the greatest mortification such a man as he was could possibly receive. The Ambassador-Extraordinary of the Emperor, who, in the Austrian army, had been under the orders of the renegado, accepted, according to custom, a dinner from the Visir. The Porte had chosen Kiathana for the entertainment; M. de Bonneval had orders to be there with the corps of bombardiers, of which he was the chief.—The exercise over, the Grand Visir called for him, and made him a present of a handful of sequins, which his situation obliged him submissively to accept.

lery fires also, crying out for help. Six Janissaries of the Palace of Germany, the gate of which was opposite to mine, came out immediately with their carbines, and without any other knowledge of the affair, than the flash of the fire given and received by my guard, make a general discharge at us. This certainly was not the kind of assistance we wanted; it was sufficient, however, to put our enemies to flight, and the time necessary for the auxiliaries to load their pieces, fortunately gave me time to get into my house, without any of us being wounded.

Although I should not have made any complaint of an attack which, in fact, was not personal to me, the officers of the police of Pera sent immediately to assure me of their vigilance in punishing the offenders, if I would point them out. The Grand Visir sent also the next morning to inquire after me, and to get the particulars of the attack; and the Grand Signior was so good as to interest himself for me. But the government was soon obliged to occupy itself with more important cares, the object of which, will explain the danger I had been exposed to,

to, and its consequences will develop the manners of the Turks, their *esprit de corps*, and the feebleness of their government.

A violent animosity had subsisted for some time between the Janissaries of the company of the Lasses, and the marine corps, which had taken rise in one of the taverns of Galata, where a child of thirteen or fourteen years old, used to dance, to bring customers to the house.

After having alternately given pleasure to both parties, this child became the object of their dissensions; successively carried off by one or other, the two corps at length went formally to war, and Galata was the theatre. Their inveteracy was carried to such length, that one of the parties retiring into the principal Mosque, the other carried off some cannon from some merchant ships, which they fixed at the gate of the temple. The corner of every street became an ambuscade; even the night did not interrupt the scattering fire, every discharge of which reached the Grand Signior's ear. All trade and communication were interrupted. The government, however, which
had

had never dreamt of nipping the evil in the bud, which might even have perceived the fermentation in the attack on my conductors, but which uniformly believes that the best method of preserving order, is by the destruction of the human species, at first adopted the measure of letting the combatants massacre each other, making a few ineffectual attempts to conciliation. This scandalous tumult lasted three days, and upwards of fifty persons fell victims to such unpardonable negligence. I happened to be at the Grand Visir's when an account arrived of the increased acrimony of the contending parties. "So much bravery *at Galata*, and such cowardice *on the Danube*," says the Visir, "proves that the Turks are afraid of nothing *but the bats*. We shall never put an end to this affair," added he, laughing, "unless Tott, with a few Frenchmen, goes and brings them to reason." It was high time, however, seriously to think of it; for it was to be feared, that other companies of Janissaries, by taking the part of their comrades, might extend the tumult even within the walls of Constantinople. But this very circumstance rendered

rendered vigorous measures difficult of execution. A measure of policy therefore was adopted, which was to get hold of the object of their quarrel; but the party in possession would not consent to give up the child, without a positive assurance that it should not be delivered to the opposite party. And the child, given up on that condition, was hanged, to the great satisfaction of those very persons who were fighting about it only an instant before.

During this sedition, I was treating with the Ministers of the Porte for the formation of a new corps of artillery.—Not that the Turks were in want of troops destined for that service, for upwards of forty thousand men, enlisted and the name of *Topchi**, formed a corps already too numerous, but which was, in fact, only a gnawing worm, whose support was no less burthensome than useless. Without any point of union, and devoid of discipline, these men, as well as the Janissaries, are dispersed throughout the capital, and the empire. A ticket called *essamé* †, with which every soldier is

* Gunners.

† Pay.

is provided, insures to him his pay, whether he presents it in person, or sends it by his agent. Very frequently, too, he sells this ticket; and, at all events, never thinks of joining his colours, but when he can do no better, and then only to partake of the dinner provided for such as choose to reside at the barracks. This abuse is very striking at the first sight of the barracks of the Janissaries:—They occupy the best chosen situations in Constantinople. Sultan Soliman, who built them, bestowed a profusion of gilding on the roofs of the porticos, which has always been supported by his successors. But the discipline he established, has not been so well maintained:—by abandoning the regulations, the spirit of the corps is annihilated, and the number in actual pay, (for the inrolled are innumerable) amounts to four hundred thousand; of whom scarcely twenty thousand are collected together. It must further be observed, that this small number is, in general composed of those who have low pay, and of those, who having none, serve in hopes of obtaining it. This pay, which is only distributed every three months,

months, is carried from three aspres, up to ninety-nine*.—This arbitrary method of rewarding military services, thrown entirely into the hands of their leaders, must necessarily operate to the destruction of this militia. Favour, too, which abuses every thing, has assumed to itself a great number of situations with the highest pay, as well as the greatest part of the alienated domains appropriated to military service.—These different objects, are in Turkey become the recompence bestowed by the man in favour on his domestics, and the empire, whose wants were provided for by the legislature, stripped at this day of a principal part of its revenues, scarcely finds in the remaining fragments, a sufficient supply for its most urgent exigencies.—And, in

* The aspres, which might be estimated at six deniers, would give for 99 aspres, 49 sols and a half; (upwards of 2s.) but which, by the value of the coin, must be reduced to 39 sols, 6 deniers; (about 19d. halfpenny) always observing, that this calculation, which is nearly the exchange established by commerce, is still far above what would be produced from examining the intrinsic value. The Grand Signior's silver money has scarcely six deniers pure.

in fact, if one except the produce of persecutions, which the Grand Signior hides in his private treasury, under the vague, but not less tyrannical, title of confiscation, the revenues of the empire estimated on the records at more than 500 millions of livres, about 25,400,000*l.* produces effectively only 74 millions, or 3,200,000*l.* to the public treasury. This sum, however, must pay the troops, support the navy, and supply the other current expences, and services unprovided for; whilst the 400 millions arising from the royal domains, appropriated by Sultan Soliman to the support of a numerous cavalry, of 4000 draught horses for the artillery, the reparation of the fortresses, the repair of the highways, &c. only serve to make the private fortunes of those who are in possession of them, and the Grand Signior, in consequence, is obliged to employ the treasure he may have kept in reserve, to provide for the immediate calls and deficiencies.

Sultan Mustapha began to exhaust his wealth, and had very poor consolation for the 600 millions he had already expended. He felt the necessity of putting his

his troops on a different footing, and was desirous that I should make a code of regulations for the new corps of artillery; but the first step necessary was to provide from the public treasure, for the annual expence it would occasion. The Grand Treasurer could only make out a revenue of 300,000 livres, about 12,000*l*. sterling, by seizing a small duty which had been enjoyed by the clerks of his offices. The Porte next employed itself about the name which should be given to the new corps; the learned were consulted on the subject, and the name of Suratchis (diligent) was unanimously adopted. The Grand Signior approved of the ordinance I had drawn up, and consecrated it in the Hattu Humayonn*, which was issued from the throne for the creation of the new corps. The uniform was also agreed on; and as it was necessary to render it as light as the nature of the service required, without attempting a new style of dress, which ignorance would have turned into ridicule, and against which fanaticism would have lifted up her voice, I conciliated these difficulties

* A sovereign Edict, which has the force of law; the effect of which is for ever binding.

facilities by adopting the form of the Albanese dress ; and the corps of Suratchis, completed to six hundred soldiers, was lodged in barracks with the officers at Kiathana, where the school was already established, the exercise of which, although it ought to be confined to cannon, was extended to the use of the bayonet, because so indispensibly necessary, and which I was desirous of accustoming the Turks to carry. One would imagine, too, that the Turks would at least have spared their censures of this weapon by which they had been so completely beaten by the Russians ; but it was necessary, even on this head, to impose silence on their critics, and work upon their prejudices, by the interposition of the Musti. That chief of the law, accompanied by the Visir, and all the Ministers, came to the school ; and apprized of this extraordinary visit, I went to receive them, and the exercise being over, the chief of the law desired me to range the corps in line of battle before the kiosk where he was placed. He then asked me for one of the new musquets, which I presented him ; and after entering with me

me into all the particulars of the use of the bayonet, he pronounced, with a loud voice, a prayer of benediction on that weapon, and that it might be applied to the defence of the true faith. The exclamation of *Praised be God*, then uttered by the whole corps, was repeated by the croud of people, attracted by curiosity; and the fanatics, always ready in the applause, whether of a benediction or a curse, very soon talked of nothing but the wonderful advantages the empire would derive from the bayonet.

The corps of Janissaries were more interested in observing the exactness with which the money was distributed every week to the Suratchis, and the uniform they wore; and they loudly declared that they would receive, with pleasure, the discipline, at the same price. This corps, in fact, formerly confined to the tributary children, and so formidable to its masters, long since degraded by departing from its regulations, was at length so fallen into neglect, that at the time of forming the Suratchis, the Grand Signior owed the Janissaries nine quarters pay, making an arrear of twenty seven months.

months. Yet never did that corps give less uneasiness to the Sovereign; but this tranquillity, far from affording a proof, of its submission, was only a certain presage of the success of the enemy. Disturbances in a despotic government, proclaim only the energy of the nation: When it is no longer able to make a struggle against internal oppression, what exertions can it oppose to foreign forces?

The severity of their established military punishments, furnished me with an opportunity of acquiring the love of the soldiers, without sacrificing discipline; and I lost no time in substituting, to chains and the bastinado, other methods which, apparently less violent, would equally secure good order and submission, whilst it established the sentiment of honour so inseparable from military ideas, but which has no term to express it in the Turkish language. Double turns of duty were the punishment of slight faults; the collar turned, and the facings flapped, without interrupting their service, were punishments reserved for more weighty offences: desertion, which had never hitherto

ther to been overlooked, was punished by the gallies ; and, what was unheard of, in short, amongst the Turks, sentinels were placed, and some Tartars, formerly in the Russian service, inlisted into this new corps, set the example of regularity in the service. This troop, particularly trained in the management of light artillery, was daily exercised, and was soon able to fire fifteen times in a minute * ; but I invariably refused their request to learn the use of small arms, because this corps was too weak to restrain the ralleries of other corps ; and I must observe, that M. de Bonneval only failed in his project of forming one in Turkey, in the European manner †, from

* A slower fire, and more attention in taking aim, would, no doubt, have been preferable ; but the Turks hitherto were afraid only of the noise, which they were desirous of making ;—a juster estimate was beyond their knowledge.

† The Turks assured me, that M. de Bonneval, who had collected a Scutary, a corps of Albanese, after teaching them to face to the right and left for some time, could never obtain from them the promise of returning the next year for the same object ; and that a Dervise seeing them wheeling round, turned

from his ignorance of the character of the nation he had adopted, which led him to begin where he should have finished: besides that, the manual exercise, properly speaking, was not an object of utility to the new troop, which, to do its duty, ought always to begin by piling up their arms.

Sultan Mustapha came frequently to these exercises; was fond of seeing the quick fire, and always made a present to the gunners; but he never thought proper to give any orders but through me, and I availed myself of these opportunities to excite the activity of his Ministers, by stimulating his. The Visir's zeal, which should have contented itself, with favouring my labours as much as possible, induced him to come and inspect them. He arrives, in one of his excursions at Kiathana, without apprizing

turned to some Janissaries who had got together from curiosity, and said to them, "They are preparing to treat you in the same way as Peter the Great did for the Strelitzes." But it was not so much the murmur excited by this expression, which made this phantom of discipline vanish, as the interest of those who were to be disciplined, and whom it was first necessary to pay.

ing me of it, and demands a repetition of the exercise they went through every morning. "We cannot, without order," says the commanding officer.—"Are not mine sufficient?" replied the Visir.—"We shall respect them, no doubt," says the officer, "in every thing which does not concern our discipline; but on that head we know no other superior than our Adgibektache*." The Visir, smiling at this answer, put up with it; and it was from himself I had the story.

It was some time since the Grand Signior had consulted me on the steps to be taken to put the channel of the Black Sea

* Adgibektache, a Santon Dervise, venerated by the Turks, and looked upon as the founder of the Janissaries, although he be, in fact, only their Legislature. He lived under the reign of Amorath the First, and when that Prince, by the advice of his Visirs, formed from the portion of slaves which fell to his share, a new body of soldiers (Yessi Tcheri) he addressed himself to Adgibektache, to give him a code of regulations, and his benediction. It is told, that to sanctify his new corps, he addressed his prayers to God, after placing the sleeve of his white robe on the head of the Commander of the troops, and that the white felt still hanging to the cap of the Janissaries, is preserved only in commemoration of the white sleeve of Adgibektache.

Sea out of danger of an insult. I had proposed to build two castles towards its mouth, but I thought this project was abandoned, when I received intelligence of the works which the Porte was carrying on at the two light-houses of Europe and of Asia.—They were intrusted to the care of two architects as little acquainted with lines of defence, as they were of the rules of Vitruvius; and accordingly at the mouth of the channel, and without the range of thirty-six pound shot, they presently run up some ill built towers, and a few dry walls, to contain the artillery, which after a whitewashing, enabled the Ministers to announce them to the Grand Signior as a work of perfection. But Sultan Mustapha, who had, doubtless, intended that I should overlook the execution, astonished to find in the account laid before him, that I had nothing to do with it, inquired the reason of it. His Ministers, who were incessantly endeavouring to keep me out of the way, excused themselves, by saying that the order did not expressly enjoin them to consult me. But his Highness not choosing to trust to them,
gave

gave them the mortification of submitting their work to my inspection. The Reis Effendi*, and the Grand Treasurer, were employed to conduct me to the new built castles, to determine whether it would be better to preserve, or to destroy them. The complaisance with which the Grand Visir gave me this invitation, proved to me that the Grand Signior had not been quite so gentle in the orders he had given his Ministers.— But this circumstance, truly alarming for them, was not less embarrassing to me; for I must either betray the interests with which I was intrusted, or sacrifice the innocent. In fact, I could not but foresee, that by improving the works they had just constructed, they who had given orders for them, would throw the blame on the two architects; and that the latter, unable either to do better, or to decline the undertaking, could not, without extreme cruelty, be involved in the consequences of this inquiry. We took these poor fellows with us, and their first care after our arrival, was to represent to me the risque they run if I disapproved of their work. But they were by no means contented

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with

* Reis Effendi - Minister for foreign affairs.

with my bare assurances that their ignorance would save them. The two Ministers urged me to give my opinion, and were already finding fault with the masonry, and condemning the bad state of the barracks in the midst of the inclosure. "That is of the least consequence," answered I; "the most material affair is, that the shot should cross one another, the rest is easily remedied." One of the architects immediately assured us that the balls would cross.—"That is what you have nothing to do with," replied I; "You have built on the situations pointed out to you; if the distances are too great for the effectual range of shot, it will be unnecessary to examine your principles of building. In that case, every thing must be destroyed, and the forts re-built on a better situation." The Greek began to perceive his folly in talking about artillery, and the gunners received orders to prepare the cannon. The Grand Treasurer, who of all the Ministers had more immediately taken part in this work, proposed to me to go to the shore, to judge of the effects of the shot; adding that the master-gunner assured

sured him he had already seen them cross. "I have so much reliance," said I, "on his observations, that I will take special care not to repeat them from the same place; it is from the tower that we will go and make ours; from that height we shall be better able to judge of the matter." We mounted, in consequence, on the battlements of a miserable tower, wisely designed to serve as a powder magazine. A flag being displayed, by way of signal, the experiment took place, and we saw very distinctly, that the shot fired from the two castles of Europe and of Asia, scarcely reached a third of the distance that separates them; and this experiment, repeated several times, proved invariably the same thing. It was no longer necessary to examine the construction of the castles, after so clear a demonstration of their inutility. The minutes of this affair were drawn up in such a manner, as to relieve the two architects from all uneasiness. I dined with the two Ministers, after which we re-imbarked on our return to Constantinople, intending to examine, on our way, the most favourable position for the two forts which were deemed necessary

for the defence of the Bosphorus, which we discovered very soon: the two first promontories we saw, placed at a proper distance, and so situated as to cover the anchoring ground, which is before them, seemed designed by nature for the purpose. This produced, of course, a great deal of conversation. The Ministers were to give an account of their commission; the consequence of which was, with respect to me, that I did not hear another word upon the subject for more than six months.

The labours of the foundery, and the daily instruction of the new regiment of gunners, afforded me employment enough to divert me from every other idea.—I thought no more about the fortification of the channel; and imagined that even the Grand Signior himself had laid it aside, when two messages, one from the Visir, and the other from the Reis Effendi, arriving at the same moment, to urge my presence at the Porte, made me suspect some orders from the *interior**, which would admit of no delay
in

* This word, which is a literal translation of the Turkish

in the execution ; but I did not expect to find the Ministers in such an agitation. They were assembled at the Visir's house, and were still trembling under the resentment of their master †. Sultan Mustapha, who came frequently to confer with his Ministers at the Porte, and make them give an account of their administration, had appeared there that very morning. Well informed, no doubt, that the building of the projected castles was not yet begun, he called his Ministers together in haste, and made them tremble at his outset. " You are all traitors !"—said he ; " you have already shaken my throne ;—you are labouring to overthrow it !"—Anger flashed from his eyes ;—his Ministers were struck dumb.—Ismael Bey ‡ alone, bolder struck than the rest, from being more certain of his master's favour, had the courage to intreat him to name the traitor.—

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Turkish word, is appropriated by custom to the palace of the Grand Signior, and seems, in fact, to correspond with despotism better than any thing else.

† The Reis Effendi himself communicated the particulars of this scene to me.

‡ The name of the Reis Effendi.

tor.—“ Yourself,” replied the Sultan, “ where are the castles which Tott should have built six months ago? He fixed on the proper situations; have you hitherto enabled him to lay the first stone?” The Ministers pleaded in their justification, that they had not received any orders for it. The Emperor insisted that he had given them; but he could only be calmed by the assurance, that the workmen should be there the very next day. We agreed on the hour of meeting, there to give a few strokes of the pick axe, a formality which the Ministers made a point of, that they might be able conscientiously to inform their master that the work was begun. There was another circumstance more necessary for me, previous to the undertaking, and I employed myself in drawing plans adapted to the respective situations, whilst the Visir was consulting the Astrologers, to find out the day and the hour the most auspicious for laying the first stone. The time was at length fixed, and I was on the point of setting out for the ceremony *, when a Turk, followed by several

* This ridiculous science which is kept in pay by fear,

veral Tchoadars, arrives and is announced as coming from the Grand Signior. The consequential carriage of this personage, and his silent gravity, were not calculated to satisfy one very soon respecting the object of his mission. His slowness in swallowing his cup of coffee, the constant prelude to all Turkish conversations, still further added to my impatience. At length he draws out from his bosom a small bag of red sattin, which he presents me with, on the part of his master, complimenting me at the same time on the mark of distinction it contained, and the prerogatives attached to it. In the mean time, I open the bag, from which I draw out a parcel of handkerchiefs embroidered with gold, in which were four pieces of ebony, which joined to one another by silver hinges, gave, when opened out, the standard of the Turkish *Pic**, used in

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building.

fear, and which foretells nothing with certainty but the ignorance of its votaries, is held in such reverence at Constantinople, that there exists a *Munedjim-Bachi*, Chief of the Soothsayers.

* *Pic* is the name of the Turkish ell; but they are of several sorts. Our shopkeeper's ell is the Turkish *Pic* and three quarters, as made use of in measuring.

building. "You may now," continued the Turk, "dispose of all the Workmen in Constantinople; and the Grand Signior's *Pic*, which is intrusted to you, extends your authority over them, even to the infliction of punishments. Such eminent advantages lost much of their value in my hands; but I could not avoid testifying the high estimation in which I held this honour, by making a present to the bearer, and distributing a few sequins to his attendants. Putting the standard amongst my other instruments, I set out for the ground fixed on for the new castles, where I found about forty overseers of workmen already assembled; each of them was furnished with a double *Pic*. This badge of authority reminded me of that which I bore. I determined to employ the time previous to the astrological hour of the Ministers in verifying the measures of the overseers, in order to establish that uniformity which was indispensibly requisite

measuring cloth. The *Indosé* is another sort of *Pic* to measure other stuffs, and the mason's *Pic*, which is longer than the others, is equal to two feet, four inches, and three lines.

quisite to accuracy. All these gentlemen got very familiarly round me, and their leader, who called himself an architect, and thought he was one, presuming already on my tractability in following his advice, proposed to me to verify all the measures by his own. "I must first begin with yours," said I, taking my standard out of the crimson bag. At the sight of this, the whole body of those fellows started back ten paces from me, and I availed myself of the first surprise to establish my authority, by a striking, but not cruel act of severity, ordering all the measures, not conformable to my standard, to be broken to pieces;—not one of them, not even that of their Chief escaped this sentence. I ordered new ones to be made on the spot, and the Ministers on their arrival, found them taken up with this business. They repaired immediately to the place I had marked out for laying the first stone, which was prepared as well as the cement and the workmen. The Grand Treasurer held in one hand the astrological decision, and his watch in the other. He observed the minute

with the most scrupulous devotion, and pronouncing the name of God at the last second, he gave the signal which completed this ridiculous ceremony.

My first labour was to break ground, in order to level and extract materials from it for the building of the forts. This could only be done by means of gunpowder, from the quality of the rock, which consisted of a bed of porphyry. I collected together and put into huts in the vicinity of the works, about fifteen hundred Macedonians, who are the Auvergnats* of Turkey.

The artillery school, the foundery, and the new forts, obliged me, from their distance from each other to travel six leagues every day. The Grand Signior ordered the Bostandgy-Bachi to supply me with the boatmen of the Seraglio, who were to have extraordinary pay out of the public treasury, and from that moment

* Auvergnats:—The inhabitants of Auvergne, remarkable for their industry, frugality, and application to the menial offices;—who are the porters, tinkers, chimney-sweepers of Paris:—the Scotch and Irish, in short, of London; and who make excellent soldiers.

moment my boat was placed in the arsenal, by the Grand Signior's felucca.

The first labours at the new foundry were directed to the construction of a train of field artillery, of which the Turks were totally destitute, and which were to be served by the new corps. The Grand Visir, in all his letters from the army, was constantly demanding them; and the Grand Signior ordered me immediately to prepare fifty four-pounders, with their carriages, to be accompanied by three hundred Suratchis disciplined at the school. The cartwright work, further increased my labour, and the works at the castles were pushed forward in the greatest activity, to satisfy the impatience of the Grand Signior, to see the lower batteries completed, and lined with artillery. The levelling of the rock furnished us with stones, but the masses of porphyry they contained, resisted the best sharpened instruments, and rendered them very difficult to cut. The indefatigable exertions of the Macedonians, however, surmounted every difficulty.

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Notwithstanding the dispatch required by the Grand Signior, I established a day of rest for the workmen, and permitted them to go every Sunday to divert themselves at the neighbouring village. Those who worked at the Castle of Europe, had the same licence to amuse themselves at Fanaraki *. Two and twenty Macedonians, each with his gun on his shoulder, had got there, and assembled in a tavern, were singing together the victories of Alexander. In the interim, a large saic, laden with stores for Varna, delayed by contrary winds, was come to anchor under shelter of a rock, in front of the village. Ninety Turkish soldiers, who were on board the saic, had just landed, when one of my workmen quitting his companions, to take the air, approaches the shore, where he finds the Turks, armed from head to foot. One of them, insolent from the number of his company, comes up to the Macedonian, and gives him a violent box on the ear.

* A village situated in Europe, on the point of the cape which forms the mouth of the channel, and which takes its name from a lantern that is placed there.

ear. Being without arms to avenge the affront, and but little acquainted with the Turkish language, he makes a sign to the champion to stay till he returns. He quits him directly, returns to the tavern, saying not a word to his companions, takes his musquet, without their perceiving it, and goes back to the shore, where he still finds the Turks; he singles out his adversary, and pointing to his cheek, makes a sign to him to repeat his blow. The Turk, who had his pistol in his hand, fires at him, close to his breast, and misses the Macedonian, who instantly gives him wadding and all in his belly, and perishes himself by the discharge of more than eighty musquets, fired at him by the other Turks. The noise, however, excites the attention of the remaining one and twenty Macedonians; one of their companions is missing;—they take up their arms, fly to the shore, see their comrade stretched out by the side of a Turk, and without further questions, attack their enemies, lay nine dead on the spot, and drive the rest towards the sea with such precipitation, that partly by swimming, and partly in their boats, these

these fellows get to their vessel, cut the cable, and escape by putting to sea. This adventure was too serious for me, not immediately to take every necessary information. Two Macedonians, deputed to wait on me, gave me an account of the matter; and wishing to anticipate that which the Visir was likely to receive, I set out immediately to the Prime Minister's house, where I become plaintiff for the insult offered to the workmen at the castles.—The Visir, after listening to me, says coldly, "Very well;—let there be no more said about it." Not knowing that he was already acquainted with what had happened, I thought this by no means a satisfactory answer to my complaint, and I insisted on redress. The Minister, forced at length to explain himself, says to me, sharply, "What would you be at;—Are not nine Mahometans laid dead on the spot, a sufficient number of victims to atone for the death of one infidel?" I softened my tone on this, but represented to him, that it was absolutely necessary, by the most rigorous orders, to provide for the tranquillity of the workmen.—"That is well enough,"

enough," added he, laughing:—"Why with your fifteen hundred Macedonians, you would make a conquest of the country:—Your own means of security are better than any I could furnish you with." I knew this as well as the Visir; and as my only object was to obtain impunity for my people, I withdrew, satisfied with the success of my negociation, and perfectly tranquil respecting the consequences of the affair, notwithstanding the threats of the company of Las Janisfaries, which none of them had the courage to put in execution.

The Grand Signior had given me the use of a country house, hired at his expence, and situated on the banks of the sea in the village of Tarapia, where I resided in summer; and which was very conveniently situated between Constantinople and the castles, for the different works I was engaged in. I was informed, one day, on returning from the foundery, that a Turkish vessel from the Black Sea, meeting with contrary winds, over against Tarapia, had just overset at the entrance of the harbour. The weather was so fine, and the breeze so moderate,

derate, that I could not possibly conceive how this accident could happen. Curious to know the cause of it, I step down to the shore, and the first object that strikes me, is the keel of the vessel above water. The captain, and five or six sailors who composed the crew, having swam to land, were sitting on the beach, viewing this melancholy sight. They told me that a young girl and her mother, passengers on board the vessel, had perished, without their being able to afford them the least assistance. But these particulars did not explain to me the cause of so extraordinary an event. I was obliged to ask many questions, before I could get from them, that the vessel, laden with planks, half-mast high, had sailed from Syncope without any ballast. I shuddered at the danger these poor people had run, and which was, from the beginning, unavoidable, on the least shift of wind; for they must inevitably have overfet at sea, had not the wind been right abaft, until they they gained the channel, where a very light southerly breeze, by obliging them to bear away, had done justice to their ignorance. Such a conduct was sufficient
proof

proof that this was the first time the captain or his crew had been to sea. I took pity on these unfortunate people, and offered to assist them in weighing up their vessel; but my pity was increased on hearing that a Turk, who pretended to be expert in naval matters, had just got one hundred sequins before hand from them, for that operation. I was led to think that this sum, the sole remains of their shipwreck, would eventually turn out a more real loss to them, and I was not deceived in my opinion. The only aid they got from him, in fact, was by a few ropes brought in a boat from Constantinople, by a dozen Levertis*, who only hawled the vessel nearer the coast, and placed it amongst rocks, where it would be dashed to pieces by the least rising of the sea. These officious seamen, however, demanding more money to continue their work, no sooner met with a refusal, than they disappeared, and the ship-wrecked sufferers were in the height of despair. I sent orders immediately to the castles to bring me capsterns

* Seamen belonging to the Admiralty attached to the service of the ships of war.

sterns and other necessary apparatus, by means of which, in one afternoon's work, I put the vessel in a condition to pursue her voyage to Constantinople. It was a truly interesting scene to behold the joy of these poor creatures, and their earnestness to collect the present they intended making me, which I refused, exacting a promise from them, however, never again to go to sea without ballast. "Misfortunes are excellent counsellors," says the captain to me, "and I will certainly profit by the advice you have given me, that I may have it in my power to offer you an homage of my gratitude, more adequate to the service you have done me." And some months after, in fact, I was informed that the same man, and the same crew, carrying some raisins, butter, and other productions of the Black Sea, had likewise several sheep with him, which they were bringing to me. I saw him enter, fully determined not to accept of any thing from him.—"See here," says he, on perceiving me, "the unfortunate man you saved;—God has blessed your good work:—we have made a fortunate voyage;—it is to you we owe every

every thing we have, and we bring you the tribute of gratitude."—"I am very happy again to see you," replied I; "but I will not forfeit the merit of having served you, by accepting of any recompence."—"You ought not to be afraid of that," said he; "we have imposed the annual tribute on ourselves, that God may favour our commerce." I now refuse, more strongly than ever, to accept of any thing; but the Turk, more affected at my refusal, than I could have imagined, says to me, turning pale, "It is certainly in your power to refuse us; but depend upon it, that if you persist in it, we will instantly place ourselves, and our vessel, in the same place, and the same situation, from which you extricated us." The tone of voice which accompanied this declaration, made such an impression on me, that, not daring to run the risque of driving these poor creatures to despair, I accepted their present, but on condition that it should be the last †.

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† This anecdote, which strongly paints the sentiment of gratitude, ought no more to serve as a cha-

The Grand Visir had been long desirous of seeing the new foundry, where I was busily employed in preparing the new field train, which was incessantly demanded by the army, when the Prime Minister was announced. The activity which then prevailed in the several workshops, enabled me to show him all the details of the fabrication; and when we came to the forges, he sat down upon an anvil. Whilst we were in a very interesting conversation on the most important subjects, one of the Visir's Tchoadars interrupted me every moment to ask me for a present.

Tired at length of his importunity, and still more shocked at his master's suffering it, I thought to check him, by sharply desiring him to have patience, at least till our conversation was finished. "Ay," says he, "then he will go away, and I shall not have time to stay for you." This insolent

characteristic of the Turkish nation, than it would be just, from a single trait, to charge them with the character of ingratitude. It is from the general tint that men should be judged: that is only to be obtained by combining the various colours which compose it; and it is only on forming the mixture, that we are able to distinguish the true shade.

insolent answer, appeared so only to myself. I gave him two sequins, and on his telling me, there were a great many of them, I gave him four; after which the Visir who had said nothing in the interim, resumed his questions. He returned at length to his boat, after making his treasurer distribute a hundred sequins to the workmen, and particularly amongst my servants. I conducted him to his boat: when he was seated, and his rowers had begun to put off, an artillery officer, who accompanied me every where, lays hold of the stern of the boat, stops it, and demands in his turn his present which he had not received. A marine officer, of my guard, lays in his claim also; the Prime Minister asks his treasurer, why those two men have not received their share of the money. They answer, that they were going on before; my officers insist, however; and the Visir, a glance from whose eye would have made the most intrepid tremble, has no other way of freeing himself from them, than by ordering four sequins to be given to each of these importunate fellows. How could I complain of his attendant, when my own had no more respect for him?

This

This Prime Minister, of whose character I have already given a sketch, only preserved his place by abandoning the reins of empire to the Reis Effendi, whose subtle and saturnine spirit governed the country with such indifference, that chattering one day, and the conversation turning on the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, and on the instability of the the most powerful empires, he asked me, where I thought an unsuccessful war might carry them?—"To the other side," said I. He looks immediately out of the window, examines the coasts of Asia, and turning round with a laughing countenance,—“My friend,” said he, “there are delicious vallies; we will build beautiful kiosks there.” It is easy to conclude from this answer, that Ismael Bey, slightly affected by any calamities in which he did not participate, contented himself with getting rid of the current affairs of the moment, carefully took the Grand Signior’s orders on every subject where there was any danger, and adhered more closely to his place than to his duty. To his connections with Ised Bey, he owed his elevation, and he was still
sup-

supported by those connections; Ised, satisfied with the favour of his master, preserved it without intrigues, enjoyed it without ambition, and had a strong propensity to doing good, without knowing how to effect it.

I was very intimate with this favourite, who was the medium between his master and myself, and used regularly to give him an account of our conversations, which afforded me the means of indirectly hinting many things, an opportunity I frequently made use of. It was thro' Ised Bey also, that the Grand Signior consulted me; and this Prince who was daily acquiring new information, and whose views began to extend beyond the usual limits, treated with a great deal of attention the project for a junction of the the two seas by the Isthmus of Suez. He was even desirous of aiding what I already knew of the subject, by the local knowledge of the different Commissaries who had been in Egypt; and the reader will see in the fourth part of these Memoirs, that if Mustapha had lived long enough to have undertaken that work, he would have found the local circumstances

stances so favourable to his views, as to have enabled him to operate the greatest possible revolution in the general system of politics. He was undoubtedly very far from this degree of information, when giving way to the temptation of an apparent benefit, he debased his coin. A man of the name of Tair Aga, who possessed this Prince's favour, and held the place of Superintendant of the Mint, at the beginning of his reign, led him into this error, and I have reason to presume, that having learnt better to appreciate his real interest, the return of peace would have been the epocha of a general new coinage; but the immediate pecuniary sacrifice, required by this operation, could not be made during the war; specie of some kind was necessary. The treasury began to be exhausted, the Mint was striking money night and day, and silver reduced to the low standard of seven penny weights pure, losing its ductility, the first strokes of the die crushed the coins, the steel of which was badly prepared and tempered. This inconvenience not only delayed, but even put a total stop to a coinage which admitted of
no

no delay, and called for a speedy remedy. I was desired to point it out, and on the principle that, amongst ignorant people, one must pretend to know what one knows nothing about. I undertook the business, set to work to study the principles of it, and soon succeeded in making the coin as solid as they desired. Whilst I was about all these operations, the workmen I was instructing, interested in the destruction of the coinage, and unable to attack the goodness of the work, tried to perplex me with respect to the means I took of perfecting the temper of the metal; pretending that I had only substituted urine for water, and which I made use of, to have the pleasure of sullyng the name of the Grand Signior, by plunging it into so impure a mixture; and after having circulated this ridiculous supposition, they laid it before the Grand Signior in the form of a legal complaint. It was scarcely credible that such an accusation could produce any effect; yet such is the force of prejudice, that the Grand Signior himself thought proper to have the matter explained; possibly he thought too,

that I should easily be able to refute the charge. It was communicated to me from him, with a request to give him my answer, which I readily found in the very text of my commentators. Admitting the facts, and acknowledging the sanctity of the Emperor's name, I added, that however respectable that was, it did not become man to pay him greater honours than were allowed to God, whose name was daily written on a composition, wholly composed of rags picked out of the dirt. This answer satisfying the Grand Signior that he was not insulted, threw the ridicule it merited upon the foolish calumny.

This Prince not content with borrowing useful notions, to produce a temporary correction of those vices that infected every part of the administration, was desirous of extending his knowledge, and of laying the foundation of science by the establishment of a mathematical school, of which he requested me to take the direction. The corps of mathematicians, founded by Soliman, cried out against this innovation, which pre-supposed

posed the ignorance of the Muhendis*, whose chief declared they were very well instructed.

His Highness accordingly determined that these geometricians should undergo a previous examination by me, in presence of two of the Ministers, appointed commissioners for that purpose. We assembled on the day appointed, and if the learned men were not quite at their ease, I was myself in some anxiety. Indeed, my situation was embarrassing: I wished to conquer, yet I was afraid of humbling them. My vanity urged me on the one hand, and my delicacy restrained me on the other. The assembly was composed of the Reis Effendi, the Grand Treasurer, the Cheir-Emini †, the Chief of the Geometricians, and of six learned men selected to defend the honour of the body. I was the bugbear of the meeting, which was opened by Ismael Bey, in a discourse wherein the interest of the state was shown to be inseparable from the will of the despot; and every head bowing acquiescence, I was requested to begin my examination. I

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reflected

* Geometricians.

† Overseers of the buildings.

reflected a long time, resolving not to be hard upon them. I asked the Chief, What the three angles of a triangle were equal to? I was desired to repeat my question; and after a mutual consultation, the boldest of them answered me, with firmness, That is according to the triangle. I was confounded, and must confess that I stood in need of some such absurd answer, to reconcile me to the simplicity of the question I had put. It was unnecessary to push the examination any further; I contented myself with explaining my question, and with demonstrating this mathematical truth. The ignorance of these pretended Geometricians required no further demonstration; but I must do justice to their subsequent zeal for the Sciences: they all requested to be received into the new school, and we immediately set about its establishment.

I was one day at the Porte on some business respecting it, which the Visir desired me to conclude with the Mektoubtchi*, whom I found employed about some urgent dispatches, and was waiting

* Secretary of State.

ing his leisure on a sofa, when a Chek * of Mecca came and sat down by me. He was one of those fanatics, who, from being born in their Holy Land, think themselves superior beings; brave the temporal powers, prostitute the name of God, affect to despise riches, and are most insolent beggars. I had frequently seen this same man force the Visir's gate, come and seat himself by him, and there remain until he received a piece of gold, the only method of getting rid of him. This was what he was now expecting, with an air of the most consummate insolence; but the Mektoubtchi, who was not disposed to that condescension, entered, before him, into the various particulars of the new establishment, and conversed with me, in his presence, on the various objects relative to my other undertakings. The Chek, attentive to this discourse, looked at me with astonishment, and seemed to find a difficulty in reconciling my dress with the authority I appeared to exercise. The

H 3 *Alshuoy* Mek-

• A sort of Arabian Princes, descended from Mahomet, who serve the Holy Mosque, assume a license for every species of insolence, and beg from the Grandees.

Mektoubtchi, however, sent for by the Vifir, desires me to stay till his return, and leaves me, with the Chek, and a Secretary, who was busy writing in a corner of the apartment. The silence we all three observed for some time, was interrupted by the Emir, for the green turban of the Chek marked his consanguinity with the Prophet. "Since you employ yourself," says he to me, "in serving the true faith, why don't you embrace it, and abjure the errors from which the most meritorious actions cannot absolve you?" Scarcely had he finished this short apostolic harangue, before the Secretary, letting his pen drop from his hand, threatened him to go immediately and give an account of his insolence to the Vifir, that he might be driven from the Porte. But, interrupting the Secretary, I desired him to be calm, and let me reply to the Chek, who seemed already a little disconcerted by this reprimand. "It is very natural," said I, to this canting Mussulman, "that you should avail yourself of every opportunity of propagating your faith, and I thank you for supposing me worthy your attention ;

tion ; but I know a mission much more interesting for your zeal ; which is, the conversion of a multitude of *Greenbeads*, who, like yourself, are kinsmen of the Prophet, and as indifferent about his laws. Go, and convert them, and when you have completed this arduous task, come to me, and I will then tell you what I shall do." The Secretary bursting out a laughing, the poor Chek was covered with confusion ; he went off, and the servants, who always listen at the doors, in shewing him out, asked him if he was going to convert the *Greenbeads*. The Porte was soon informed of this sarcasm, and the unfortunate Chek no longer ventured to show himself there. The Mektoubtchi, on his return, hearing of this scene, made many apologies, laughed heartily at the catastrophe, and expedited the necessary orders for the establishment of the school.

This institution, peculiarly destined for the sea-service, was held at the Arsenal ; but no person could be admitted but such as could be of immediate service ; so that I had no tricks to fear from my scholars, who were many of them

captains of ships, with white beards, and all of them advanced in life. I dictated the lessons every day in the Turkish language, each scholar wrote it out in his copy-book, and I chose one of them to repeat it to the others the next day*. By this method of fixing the attention of my scholars, they made the most rapid progress; at the end of three months, they were able to make a practical application of the four problems of Plane Trigonometry; and this was the extent of the education I proposed to give them.

Nothing was at that time wanting but field engineers, and seamen able to take the height of the sun, make observations, and keep the ship's reckoning, which was enough, surely, for scholars of sixty years of age. I had settled it with Sultan Mustapha, that this theory should be inculcated by practice, and that two armed frigates should perform their evolutions, under his own observations, in the channel

* The method of making scholars become professors for one another, might be very successfully employed in all schools. Nothing is learnt well that one cannot demonstrate; to add, therefore, the motive of vanity to application, is making sure of instruction.

H₅ ... able

* This project, which could only be carried into execution after some months education, was laid aside after the death of Mustapha, whose activity alone could inspire energy into the minds of a set of Ministers, corrupted from the very nature of the government.

able to produce a reformation. We have already seen, that the institution of the new foundery had not destroyed the old one ; the funds designed for the artillery were diverted to that object ; and it was with great difficulty that the necessary sums could be procured for a work of acknowledged superior utility. —The corps of geometricians were in possession of Crown lands ; the new school had no encouragement ; and of all the new establishments, the corps of the Suratchis alone, which is founded in perpetuity, enjoyed a revenue assigned for its support ; but I have already observed, that the revenue proceeded from the profit of a set of subaltern knaves in office, who, doubtless, had not sufficient credit to secure the fruits of their depredations.

The abuses existing in the administration of the navy, more powerfully sheltered, were very difficult of attack. The enormous expences, however, which appeared on the accounts for masting the ships, for want of a proper machine, which I had often spoken of, induced the government to desire me to give directions for constructing one. Its site was to be
near

near the careening place, and the Superintendent of the Navy had orders to furnish me with the necessary timber. I lodged my carpenter in a convenient hut, and I fixed on 120 feet for its height. The badness of the bottom obliging me to lay the foundation on piles, and as on this part of the work depended the solidity of the whole machine, I paid the utmost attention to it. The Admiral, however, found fault with me for tipping the piles with iron :—"That is," said he, "throwing the Grand Signior's money into the sea." He accused me, also, of making too many of them; but his Highness did not think proper to sacrifice the solidity of a work, left entirely to my direction, for so trifling an article of œconomy.

The Porte was continually giving me hopes of granting some certain establishment for the mathematical scholars, without which, it was not to be expected they would devote themselves to that study; but nothing was done, and the young people began to be tired of working at their own expence, and without any prospect. I obtained, however,
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by my representations in that respect, through the channel of the Superintendent of the Mint, some gold medals, with the Grand Signior's cypher on one side, and on the reverse, an inscription relative to the school. The Reis Effendi had orders to assist at the first examination, to distribute the medals to such as I should point out, with a permission to wear them suspended by a gold chain, and to add the most positive assurances of promotion.—Their assiduity was redoubled, and I very soon had a scholar fit to join the army, which, still continuing at Bababdag, promised as inactive a campaign as the preceding ones. We were so accustomed, in fact, to this inactivity, that I never asked the Ministers any questions respecting military operations. One would imagine, also, that totally taken up, as I was, with my work at the arsenals and schools, I should have been the last person to be interrogated with respect to what was passing at the army. The Visir, however, asked me very seriously one day, *If the Ottoman army was numerous.* “It is to you I should address myself for that information,”

mation," said I, "were I curious to know."—"I am ignorant of it," answered he, "Then how shall I know any thing of the matter?"—By READING THE VIENNA GAZETTE, replied he. I was struck dumb. Such repeated proofs of ignorance and absurdity united, could not be balanced by the growing understanding of Mustapha; and it was still more unfortunate for the empire, that this Prince's health, which was very precarious, and preserved by exercise alone, at length gave way, and he died, leaving the throne to his brother, the sole remaining child of Achmet, and who, shut up since the death of his father, united to a very gentle character, naturally fond of ease, the necessity of enjoying it on the throne, after a life of forty years spent in fear and solitude. His first employment was to examine his own Palace, to which he was an utter stranger; to open all the coffers he saw; to distribute to those who were with him, every thing the most valuable; and the sudden revolution he experienced in the state of his bodily power, threatened, for more than a year, to affect the most essential

essential concern of all the Oriental Princes who seem destined, by their own despotism, to no other object than the propagation of despots.

We have already seen the ceremony of a coronation, and the accession of Abdul Hamid [Servant of God] was followed by nothing remarkable, except his first edict, in which, after the usual commonplace expressions, he enjoins his Ministers to protect the new establishments of his predecessor. The same spirit that dictated this order, determined the Grand Signior the first time of his going out, to visit the school of artillery; and the Porte giving me notice to receive him at Kiathana, desired me to amuse him as I thought proper. The honours to be paid him were also left to my discretion. Anxious, therefore, to attract his attention to the agility of the Suratchis, I ordered a detachment of that corps to place itself, with only one piece, near to Kara-Agatche ‡, there to salute Sultan Abdul-Hamid with one and twenty guns as soon

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‡ A Palace of the Grand Signior, at the entrance of the river of Kiathana, at the bottom of the harbour.

as his boat appeared. This first trial had all the success that could be desired ; and the Grand Signior, astonished at the second fire, made his rowers lie upon their oars †, until the salute was finished. This served me as a signal to arrange the regiment in battle-array, two hundred paces before the kiosk where his Highness was to be ; and as the small pieces belonging to the school were very near it, I placed a Tartar sentinel there, who had served in the Russian army, and whose European discipline I knew would prevent him from quitting his post. The heavy artillery which I had pointed towards the butt, saluted the Grand Signior, when he was seated, with one and twenty guns, loaded with shot, and as I remained very near his kiosk, to be ready to receive his orders, I remarked, that this Prince, paying very little attention to the skill of the antient gunners, was entirely taken up with the Suratchis, who stood immoveable with bayonets fixed by the side of the small pieces.—

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† A sea phrase for suspending the action of the oars ; which is only practised on salutes, to express a sense of the honour conferred by it, and never by the Sovereign.

The salute over, he makes a sign to his Selictar and speaks to him ; who immediately comes up to me, and requests of me, in the name of his master, the pardon of the criminal who was doing penance, adding, that the first appearance of the Sovereign, should always announce his clemency. I then approached the Sultan, to assure him that this soldier, who was a sentinel, so far from suffering punishment, was very fortunate in attracting for a moment, the attention and concern of his Emperor ; but, it is enough, added I, that your Highness conceives him to be suffering for me to relieve him from his apparent restraint ‡,” and turning to the Tartar, I ordered him to rejoin his colours. “ No, let him remain,” says the Grand Signior,—“ to desire the pardon of a man whom I thought guilty of some offence, is very different from dispensing with the rules you have established ; far from wishing to infringe them, I am come to apprehend, and to confirm them.” A second order replaces

‡ The Turks pretend that the word of the Grand Signior is infallible ;—a despot cannot be deceived.—It is for slaves to acknowledge that he is always in the right.

replaces the sentinel in the same immovable attitude. The Grand Signior then ordered me to begin the exercise, and whilst I was at a distance, ordering the regiment to march; his Highness keeping his eyes fixed on the Tartar, gave some sequins to one of his pages to carry to that automaton. The page immediately goes up to him, and shewing him the money: "See there," says he, "what the shadow of God, the King of Kings, and the asylum of the world, sends thee; prostrate thyself before him!" "Put the sequins on the carriage of that gun," replied the sentinel without stirring, "and go away." "How wretch," said the page, "doest thou not tremble before the master of blood †? He beholds thee,—he hears thee;—prostrate thyself," I say—"Do what I tell you, and be gone," says the Tartar, interrupting him.—The page returns, and relates the transaction to his master, who now convinced that I had deceived him, says to his Selihtar: "I told you that this wretch was undergoing punishment; he dare not even receive the money; however do not let us
say

† One of the Grand Signior's titles.

say a word about it." This prejudice had not time to take deep root, for the affair was scarcely finished before the regiment, taking possession of the battery, relieved the Tartar, who did not forget his money, and displayed such agility in the exercise, that he once more attracted the attention of Abdul-Hamid. This Prince appeared to take so much pleasure in the alertness of the gunners, that I was obliged to make them repeat their exercise several times the same day, and to satisfy him, as the last proof, I made them fire a hundred and twenty cartridges, one at a time, in less than eight minutes. Different manœuvres of the artillery, and some bombs fired at the butt, completed the business of the day, in which the Sovereign appeared to prefer military occupations to those amusements to which from an imprisonment of forty years, he was more likely to give the preference. The reader, however, must already have understood, that by a very extraordinary effect, Abdul Hamid, on his coming to the throne, *had suddenly lost the rights of the Harem.* The Turkish doctors, and the European
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an physicians, who were consulted on this singular event, after investigating the cause of it, advised his Highness to dispel by amusements every thing that had the least connection with it ; thus to destroy the effect, by removing the cause of the disorder. Frequent excursions, music, and buffooneries, entirely occupied the Prince, whilst his *favourites* were wishing for the termination of a war that swallowed up immense sums, which they thought they could employ to better purpose, and his *Ministers* saw with trembling, the moment approach, when the enemy would force them to receive the most humiliating conditions.

A simple bostandgy, attached to Abdul-Hamid in his retirements, was become his favourite since his accession to the throne. Accustomed to little inferior services, low intrigue was his only talent, to which he added, since he got into favour, an insolence he had till then never been able to display. The Visir Caïmakam was his first victim in whose place was substituted the celebrated Hassan Pacha, surnamed Kouyouddy, (*The Maker of Wells*) of whom I have frequently

quently spoken, and whose cruelty was unacquainted with any other methods of governing than those of destruction: Ised Bey, whose gentle and benevolent character I have already mentioned, was also removed from the Superintendence of the Mint, and appointed to the inferior office of Cheir-Emini. The first thing I did was to wait upon him, to testify my concern for this change; but my friendship was soon consoled by the gratification of enjoying, with him, the pleasures of his new situation: The poor and unfortunate had followed him, and beset the gate of his new dwelling! an affecting circumstance, which did too much honour to the displaced Minister, not to afford him ample recompence for his disgrace. The new Visir, however, who was selected for his severity of character, was willing to merit that reputation by making the very court of his Palace serve for the first execution after his coming into office; and it was with difficulty he could be persuaded that some circumstances might possibly happen to thwart his arbitrary pleasure.

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The overseer of the founderies under my direction, was afraid also of falling a victim to his cruelty. I saw him arrive one day, later than the usual hour; terror was painted on his countenance; his servants could scarcely support him. "What is the matter with you?" said I.— "What accident can have brought you into your present situation?"—"I am undone!" replied he; "the new Caïmakam has just assured me, that if the fifty pieces of cannon you are preparing, are not on the way to the army in two days, which you know is impossible, he will take off my head: It is not in your power to save me; and I pray God to avert even from yourself, a misfortune which would for ever disgrace our empire." The Nasir's* ideas were so disturbed, that it was impossible, for the present, to enter into any further discussion of the matter. I first tried to soothe him, and as soon as I saw him capable of listening to me, I asked him, what answer he had given the Minister?—"I took care," replied he, "not to say one word to him, for it would have been the last

* Overseer.

last word of my life.”—“ In that case,” said I, “ all is well ; make yourself easy, and follow exactly the directions I am about to give you: Go, this instant, and find him; humbly tell him, that you have been to deliver me his orders, which I received in such a manner, as that you dare not repeat my answer to him; and that on your repeatedly urging me to carry them into execution, I answered you sharply, that your business was only to pay the expences; and that with respect to all the rest, it being the Ministers duty to apply to me, I knew what answer I had to give him.—“ There,” added I, “ is a simple method of extricating yourself from the affair; and I beg you will not be uneasy on my account; I am glad of an opportunity of giving a little lesson to your *Maker of Wells*.” It was with some difficulty, however, that I prevailed on Seid-Effendi, to adopt any measure that would again bring him into the presence of the *Cutter off of Heads*. Yet his very fears ought to have inspired him with courage; and I at length persuaded him. On his return he informed me, that this attack had produced the desired effect

fect of diverting the anger of Mustapha Pacha to me. The Overseer, on being questioned respecting me, assured him, that I was as zealous for the interest of the Grand Signior, as untractable in every other point; and as I was, in fact, determined, vigorously to repulse every improper proceeding, I found myself very soon engaged with the Caïmakam. He sent one of the Mekters §, the next morning, to order me to come to the Porte; and this Tchoadar, concluding, no doubt, from the tone of his master, that he was not very favourably disposed towards me, thought he might take upon him to anticipate his intentions, by accosting me in a familiar manner,—taking me by the arm, in executing his commission.—My first answer was a smart blow on his breast; and my first word, an order to turn him out of the Grand Signior's foundery, where he dared to come and in-

§ Mekters—This word, which literally means musicians, is given to the Tchoadars, or footmen more particularly employed in the execution of external commissions. They are attached to the office of the Visirate: and the perquisites of this employment are so lucrative, as to make them sought after.

insult me. Already had the workmen, though Turks, run to turn the Visir's messenger to the door, when terrified at such a reception, protesting his innocence, he politely desired me to come to the Porte, where his master had ordered him to conduct me. "All I can do for you," said I to him, "is to split the difference with you:—I forgive you what is past;—go about your business,—and never set your foot here again.—But be sure you acquaint your master with the manner in which I received you, that he may recommend more circumspection, in future, to the persons he may think proper to send to me." "I shall take good care," replied the Tchoadar, "not to say a word to him of that; he is not so tractable as his predecessors; and I earnestly beg of you to come and speak to him:—God knows what will become of me, if he sees me return without you." "That is, however, what you must do," said I; "I am not in a humour to go to the Porte to-day;—perhaps I may go to-morrow." The Mekter, after exhausting his rhetoric, without being able to obtain a more satisfactory answer, withdrew.

drew. My Nasir, who was witness to the scene, asked me, what I expected would be the consequence of this conduct? "Your safety," I replied, "and my tranquillity;—Mustapha-Pacha must be stunned to make him tractable: that is what I have undertaken, and I promise you, that I will render him as gentle to-morrow, as he showed himself brutal to you yesterday."

I went the next day to the Caïmakam's; but as our conversation was likely to be warm, I thought proper to take a third person with me, and I made choice of the Drogman of the Porte as my witness. I took the precaution likewise, that I might have an interpreter to begin the conversation, without being obliged to enter directly into it myself, until I saw the proper moment. Mustapha-Pacha's outset was, as I had foreseen, brutal and imperious; and observing that I affected, whilst he was speaking, to look about me on every side but towards him, he asked the Drogman if I did not understand Turkish. He replied in the affirmative.—"Why does he not answer me, then?" resumed the Visir. "Because,"

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cause," said I, taking up the conversation, "I have never been accustomed to converse, standing, with your predecessors; order the Master of the Ceremonies to be called;—he will teach you the custom you are unacquainted with.—To save trouble," added I, "I will teach you them myself." Then advance, seat myself by him, and I begin a vague, general conversation on his journey and arrival. In the interim, coffee and pipes are brought; and after sufficiently repulsing his various attempts to talk to me about the artillery, by interrupting him every moment with questions relative to the Court, I at length consented to listen to every thing he had to say to me on the subject, which he did in tolerably measured language. Attributing the absolute stile he had assumed, to the pressing orders sent him from Babadag*,—"I believe," said I to him, "that you have got the Grand Visir's letter properly explained to you §; but I must give you a piece

* A town near the Balkan, where the Ottoman army had lain incamped three years!

§ Mustapha-Pacha, Caimakam, the so celebrated Hassan-Pacha, could neither read nor write,

a piece of advice, no less necessary to your tranquillity and mine, than to the good of the service. The Grand Signior has intrusted to you the preservation of good order, and the care of furnishing the capital with provisions; he has intrusted me with the management of every thing respecting the artillery, and the different military details: Let us then respectively do our duty; you ought to provide me with every necessary in my department, and lay my demands and observations before your master, when I make use of the channel of your office for that purpose. It was thus that your predecessors, men well informed, always conducted themselves towards me: and I further beg you, after their example, to grant some favour to Seid-Effendi. The poor Nasir is so easily intimidated, that his fear would do you no great honour. I could not help laughing," added I, "at the fright you gave him the day before yesterday; he thought he was undone, but I gave him courage." During this whole harangue, the Caïmakam kept looking at me with astonishment: he complimented me on my facility in speak-

ing the Turkish language; and as he imagined no doubt that no man could look at him without trembling, he exalted my courage, and guessed that I was a military man; after which I took leave of him; but scarcely had I got out of the apartment with my colleague, who was laughing in his sleeve at the little lesson I had just been giving the Caïmakam, before he was sent for, to come back and speak to him. "This Frenchman appears to be a bold fellow, but he talks a great deal." "I do not think, however," replied the Drogman, that your Excellency has heard any thing escape him that is misplaced."—"True, said Mustapha, every thing he has said is very clever,—but once more I tell you, he talks a great deal." After this short dialogue, which the interpreter immediately related to me, I hastened to comfort my Nasir, and make him laugh at his apprehensions.

As soon as the train of artillery, and the detachment of the new corps were sent off to the army, I was employed to cast the pieces for the new forts; and the Grand Signior desired me at the same time

time to superintend the construction of two small pattern pieces, with which he intended to do homage at the tomb of the prophet. He had just appointed his favourite to the dignity of Surré-Emini. His nomination to this office, the duty of which is to conduct the Pilgrims to Mecca, and is considered only as a lucrative employment, proved to the public at once the decline of his favour, and the imprudent rapaciousness of the favourites. I waited upon him to deliver the offering I have mentioned, and I improved the opportunity to examine the different presents, with which he was going to do homage at Mecca. He first made me remark the green and gold silk stuff, designed to cover the tomb, the tissue of which is remarkable from its thickness; but it is more so, that the Republic of Venice should have contracted the custom of making this present to the Porte, on every fresh embassy, for which purpose the Venetians keep a loom constantly going; a custom perhaps resembling too much a tribute §.

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§ It cannot be denied, in fact, that the sole difference between a tribute and a present, consists in the

this I passed to other objects, more proper to amuse children, than suited to the gravity of the occasion for which they were designed.—They consisted of several pack saddles for camels, carrying little kiosks, within which were represented the useful arts, such as plowing, harvest work, mills, bakehouses, &c.—Little flags enriched these different pictures, which were to lead the march of this holy caravan.

Whilst the confidence of the favourite made him behold with pleasure the moment of his departure, Umer Effendi, Grand Treasurer, who had no occasion to go and make his fortune at a distance, had hitherto known how to insure the enjoyment of it, in spite of the enemies he had made himself by his assuming manner. Their intrigues had always been confined to his removal to some distant

the liberty of giving. To establish the custom of giving the same thing at stated periods, is in some degree to lay the foundation of a claim; this right acquires greater force when applied to people whose customs are their only laws. The study of manners will always furnish the first elements of politics, and to establish such customs, when one can deny the servitude, is not to understand politics.

distant employment, which he had always been artful enough to avoid; but it was reserved to Kouyoudgi-Pacha to obviate every difficulty. Umer, at length, called into his presence, and proclaimed governor of a province, pleaded in vain his dignity of the feather, in bar to his acceptance of the sword; the Visir made him take off his head-dress, to assume the turban of his present promotion. The Treasurer for some time combated this violence, but he was soon obliged to submit to this strange manner of raising a man to dignity. It was not long, however, before the Visir himself became a victim to the want of prudence that regulated all his actions, and the complaints of the men of the law procured his overthrow, and exile into Asia; where, a short time after, Mustapha-Pacha was placed in his proper sphere, by the commission he received to visit the provinces, and scour them of those bands of robbers which had multiplied with the war.

His successor was that very Ised Bey, who, after falling from an elevated, to an inferior situation, was again raised to

the highest dignity, when he least expected and desired it. This was the more remarkable, as the post of Cheir-Emini, which he had held, had never, hitherto, been a step to the Visirate. The absolute necessity there was of opposing firmness to violence, humanity to cruelty, mildness to brutality, and circumspection to imprudence, was perhaps the only motive that influenced this choice. I went the third day after his installation, to pay my compliments to the new Minister. He received me with the same air of friendship he had preserved in his disgrace. I was seated on the sofa at the distance becoming the difference of situations; and as what I had to say, was not proper to be communicated to the croud who were standing opposite to us, we mutually leaned to converse in a low voice; this attitude becoming painful, he desired me to approach him; but observing a sort of restraint in me, which had not before struck him, he says to me aloud, "What, then, my friend! you are afraid to come near me?" Then opening his pelice, and spreading it on the sofa, "Get up," added

added he, "and seat yourself on these furs;—that is your place;—if you have forgot it, it is my duty to remember it." The multitude, who always obey the impulse that is given them, cried out with enthusiasm, "Long live our new master!"

The negotiations for peace, which had been long on the tapis, were only retarded by the personal fears of the Grand Visir. The Porte pressed him to conclude it; but although he had no doubt of the design of the Porte to terminate the war on any terms, he could not but be sensible that the blame of a disgraceful peace recoiling only upon him, the forfeit of his life would follow the signature of the treaty. Stopped by this consideration, he demanded powers from the Porte, which were refused him, under the pretext of their inutility; but, in fact, from the same motives that led him to demand them; and the Ministers, who thought of nothing but their own safety, affected to treat the care he took of his, as a proof of pusillanimity. But his wife, at length, one of the sisters of the Grand Signior, put an end to

this discussion. This Sultana wrote to her husband, that he might sign every thing with impunity; and her husband, who was very old, 'tis true, died after having signed the peace, and disbanded the army.

Ised-Pacha, who until then had only borne the title of Caïmakam, received with the seals, that of Grand Visir; and the Turkish government once more concentrated in the capital, soon returned to its ancient errors. The establishments I had formed, however, were still continued; but the founderies, the artillery school, and the school of mathematics, affording no farther scope for my activity than that of pursuing the same objects without the hopes of extending them, I resolved to return to France; without informing the Porte, however, of my intention of abandoning them, which they were far from seeming to desire, for I was even desired to appoint Vekils for the different establishments.

The Grand Signior, on my taking leave, cloathed me with a very elegant pelice of sable; but I soon received a farewell with which I was much more affected.

affected. The vessel which was to carry me to Smyrna, where I was to embark on board one of the King's frigates, had already weighed anchor, and set her sails, when several boats came aboard us. I then saw myself surrounded by all my pupils, each of them with a book or an instrument in his hand:—"Before you quit us," said they, with tenderness, "give us at least a last lesson: it will be more deeply engraven on our memories than all the rest."—One opened his book to explain the square of the hypothenuse; another, with a long beard, set his quadrant to take the altitude; a third, asked me questions on the quarter of reduction; and all of these accompanied me upwards of two leagues to sea, where we separated with a tenderness the more affecting, as the Turks are rarely susceptible of it; and I was consequently the less prepared for it.

END OF THE THIRD PART.

FOURTH PART.

AFTER making my observations on the character, the manners, and government of the Turks in the capital of their vast empire, I had still to visit the distant provinces, to examine the different people they contain, to trace out those shades of despotism which are naturally produced by the distance of the despot.

The abuses introduced into the different commercial establishments of France in the Levant, arising more from the contrariety of the laws themselves, than from neglect of the regulations, determined the government to order a general inspection of them, and I was entrusted with this commission.

The King's frigate *L'Atalante*, commanded by the Baron de Durfort, received orders to get ready, to conduct me in this tour; and M. le Comte, and Madame la Comtesse de Tessé; M. le Duc d'Ayen, and le Comte de Meun, who were first to be conveyed to Sicily by

by the same frigate, being arrived at Toulon, we set sail the 2d of May, 1777. Off Cape Corse we fell in with settled easterly winds, which determined M. de Durfort to put into Genoa, from whence, after a few days, he put to sea, and landed the travellers at their place of destination.

From thence we sailed to Malta, where I had a commission to execute with the Grand Master; and we at length arrived at the Isle of Candia, where I began my inspection.

This island, the ancient Crete, which in some degree separates the Archipelago from the Mediterranean, is formed by a long chain of mountains, running from West to East, which may be considered as a continuation of that which forms the North of the Adriatic, traverses the Morea, and joins Mount Lebanon in Coromania.

The island of Crete, celebrated by the poets of the most remote antiquity, still presents to the curious traveller its famous labyrinth. It lays claim, too, to the possession of the true Mount Olympus,

pus, which is disputed with it by the two coasts of Europe and of Asia*.

The pious fictions, common to every age, have substituted for these ancient monuments of Paganism, the Grotto of St. Margaret, more worthy, certainly, of the veneration of the modern Greeks, and still more calculated to attract the attention of the natural philosopher §. The mountains on the south side are so near the sea, as to render this island almost inaccessible towards the Mediterranean, which gives all the advantages of culture, of which a bad soil is susceptible, to the north side of the island; and the inhabitants are indebted to the beauty of the climate alone for those rich productions, the exchange for corn,

of
 * There are two other mountains of the name of Olympus; the one in Asia-Minor, at the foot of which is situated the famous City of Prusa: the other in Europe, in the Gulph of the ancient Thessalonica. The latter, near which is a little valley, still called the Valley of Tempe, would seem to have the best ascertained pretensions; but it is impossible to decide from the appearance of these different mountains.

§ This grotto is very remarkable from the quality of its stalactites, and the variety it offers.

of which they are destitute. Oils are their principal article of commerce, and the making of soap, their chief branch of industry. That art is brought to so little perfection, that notwithstanding the vicinity of the consumer, we export from thence the greatest quantity of these oils, for the soap-houses at Marseilles, and sell part of them at Constantinople. The wild olive trees which I have found on the eastern, uninhabited part of the island, prove them to be natives, as well as the laurel rose, which shades, and gives a colour to all the vallies, causing a vapour, which is said to be fatal to such as are surprised by sleep. The country is covered with orange and lemon trees, the fruit of which is preferable to those of Malta, and of Portugal. The *Muche Muche*, of the apricot kind, and of the size of the Mirabell plumb, but more delicious than the best fruits of the same kind, seems to be peculiar to the soil of Candia, which produces the most valuable plants.

This island, long held by the Venetians, conquered from that Republic by Sultan

Sultan Soliman, who successively stripped her of her principal possessions, preserves those fortresses which were unable to defend it, and which still, at this day, serve only as places of refuge for the oppressors, without being able to resist the feeblest foreign attack. It is in the defiles, and amongst the barren mountains, therefore, that the inhabitants, to preserve their plunder, contend, successfully, for an independence never enjoyed by the cultivator.

The three towns of Candia, Canea, and Retimo, are the seat of government of the three Pachalicks, into which the Ottoman government has divided this island. The first commands the two others, under the title of Seraskier, and all the three strive who shall the most harass this unhappy country. The Turkish soldiery, with whom the Candiot Greeks are connected by frequent marriages, after the manner of *Kapin*†, have often put a stop to these extortions by revolting against the dignified extortioners; but these same Greeks almost always avail themselves of their kindred with the Janissaries,

† I have given an explanation of this sort of marriage in the first part of these Memoirs.

to become in their turn subordinate, and more dangerous persecutors of their neighbours, as they never fail to escape with impunity.

Whilst this composition of oppression and anarchy maintains disorder on all the northern coast, a society of robbers, inhabitants of the mountains, preserves order amongst its members,—defends itself against all oppression, and covers the sea with pirates. This sort of Republic had for allies, the Maniots, their neighbours; they furnish each other with mutual succours; and the weakness of the Turks leaves humanity to groan under the depredation of this banditti.

The height of the mountains, which extend the length of Candia, the sterility of some, and the nature of the vegetables which cover the others, are amongst the least striking marks of the minerals they contain. Every object testifies alike, extinguished volcanos; many of the mountains have their craters, and I found near Cape Solomon*,
a small

* This is situated at the easternmost point of the island, and forms, with Cape Sidera, the island of
of

a small island of white marble, partly covered by a bed of lava.

After our departure from the Canea, the frigate anchored under this island, from whence we sailed in the beginning of June for Alexandria. The winds which at that season are trade winds, from west and north, without ever raising the sea, enable the mariner to calculate the moment of his arrival in Egypt. In the course of this navigation I observed, that a vapour carried before us by the wind, which resisted the attraction of the sun, and became thicker every day, did not form itself into watery clouds until we approached the coast of Egypt, which was announced to us by Pompey's Pillar, before we discovered the land. We soon perceived, however, the Tower of Pharos; and after of Moreenna, and five smaller islands, the anchorage of Paleo Castro; in Greek, Old Castle. During the war before the last, an English privateer, which had taken possession of this station, had placed centries, who gave signals when our vessels appeared, to the southward and northward, very much harrassed our trade.

after doubling the Diamond §, the frigate anchored in the new harbour of Alexandria. I dispatched the same day an express to the Consul at Cairo, to acquaint him with my arrival, and to demand from the government the necessary assistance to mount the Nile, up to the capital. The Vice-Consul of Cairo, accompanied by four merchants, and an Aga of the Mamalukes, arrived the 10th of June, in the morning, at Rosetta, where they left the boats which brought them, and which were sent by the Chek Elbelet, to convey me to Cairo. The misunderstanding which was just beginning to break out between the Beys †, and,

§ A rock so called, at half a cable's distance from the point of the land on which the Pharos is built, and which separates the two harbours of Alexandria.

† The twenty-four provinces into which Egypt is divided, are governed by as many Beys, the chief of whom commands particularly at Cairo, with the title of Chek Elbelet, Prince of the Country; the whole four and twenty form the Divan, where a Pacha with three tails presides in the name of the Grand Signior. The reader will find in the following detail, a picture of this tyrannical government, in its origin, become still more monstrous since, as it has become more feeble.

and, above all, the departure of Murad †, who with some troops, had just quitted the capital, under the pretence of reducing the Arabs of Charkia, but really with the intention of oppressing Egypt, rendered this precaution necessary for my safety. We set out for Rosetta on the evening of the 12th, to avoid the great heat, during our journey of twelve leagues. Our little caravan, mounted on mules, consisted of thirty persons, and we stopped half way at Maadia. This resting place for travellers, is built on a soil formerly cultivated, but long since abandoned to the overflowings of the sea, to the barrenness occasioned by these inundations, and the depredations of the Arabs. We left this place after a few hours repose, and discovered at break of day the tops of the palm-trees, and of the Minarets of Rosetta. After passing this place, and reaching the banks of the Nile, on which it is situated, we enjoyed the astonishing prospect which the Delta presents from the opposite shore.

I em-
† One of the twenty-four governors, and he, who at that time, appeared to have the preponderance.

I embarked that evening in the felucca belonging to the Chek Elbelet, with the persons who accompanied me. This vessel, whose stern was covered with a great tilt, contained a bed-chamber, and a hall furnished with sofas. Another boat, which attended us for the kitchen, and the servants, lay alongside of us during meal-time; and by means of the winds, which repel the waters of the Nile, we mounted that river, under sail to Cairo, where we arrived the third day, in the evening.

A Janissary in the train of the Consul, who was stationed as a sentinel, in a boat below Boulak ‡ made us disembark at the place where our mules were to meet us, from whence we arrived after dark at the Consul's.

Ised Pacha, the Grand Signior's former favourite, of whom I have already spoken, was then Pacha of Cairo:—Apprized of my arrival, he sent to pay me his compliments the next day, and the Chek Elbelet showed me the same politeness,

‡ A town lying on the Nile, which serves as a landing-place for the capital, and may be looked upon as one of its suburbs.

politeness, with a request to come to see him as soon as possible. I did not, at first, see into the motive of this earnestness, but returned him for answer, "That aware as I was of his influence in Egypt, I still thought it my duty to acknowledge, at least in appearance, the Grand Signior's authority in the person of his Pacha." The Bey who commanded, gave orders to his Grand Equerry, and the officers of the police, to hasten the preparatives for my visit to the Governor.

The Consul had informed me on landing, that the Chek Elbelet, hearing of my approach, and presuming that I would disembark by daylight, had disposed a great number of officers and Suratchis to prepare a public entry for me, so much the more distinguished, as that notwithstanding the right of being mounted on horseback peculiarly appropriated to the Beys and the Grandees of the empire, seven horses were prepared to mount the persons who accompanied me. The care I took to arrive late, only delayed this ceremonial, which I was obliged to suffer, until my arrival
at

at the castle of Cairo, where the Pacha, who represents the person of his Sovereign, is uniformly kept a prisoner by the Beys. Such was the curiosity of the people, that notwithstanding their fear of the two ranks of Suratchis, who preceded me, the people crowded to see the procession; and the blows bestowed wantonly on them by the soldiery, by way of amusement, did not prevent them from waiting for my return at the gate of the castle. I there found the Pacha surrounded by all the pomp of the Virate, and he received me with the same ceremonies which are in use at Constantinople; but our former intimacy inducing us to wish for a *tête-à-tête*, he sent away the croud which filled the hall of the Divan; and the confidence he reposed in me respecting the fermentation then subsisting amongst the Beys, (a sure presage of a revolution) explained to me the anxiety of the Chek Elbelet to finish his ceremonial with me. He had not time, however, to receive me; for I had scarcely reached home in the same order of procession, before the opposite party, breaking forth
into

into violence, the reigning Beys thought only of getting possession of the fortrefs. This manœuvre, more political than military, gives to those who can succeed in it, the disposal of the Grand Signior's orders, which they compel the Pacha to issue with their pistols at his head. A firman accordingly, very soon appeared, ordering the revolters into banishment; whilst they, despising these vain formalities, by firing at their enemies, compelled them, after a few days popping, which made more noise than it did execution, to fly into Upper Egypt.

Some Mamalukes of the victorious party, raised to the dignity of Beys, replaced the fugitives; and the government apparently restored to tranquillity, I went to Gisa to pass some days there, and visit the pyramids, which are only four leagues from it.

The soil of Egypt, its commerce, and government, and its ancient monuments, which must be considered as the most remote annals of the world, are objects respectively too interesting to be confounded with the narrative of my voyage; and
I shall

I shall reserve these particulars to place them in one distinct point of view.

The Arabs, who were to conduct us to the pyramids, made us set out at midnight, and we arrived at these enormous masses of stone at day-break. The first thing the persons who accompanied me did, was to penetrate into them; but being myself less curious to visit what is sufficiently known by the plans given us by Mr. Maillet, and other travellers, who are all agreed, I availed myself of the little time I had to make my observations, in such researches as appeared to me to have been hitherto neglected.

In approaching the Sphynx, which I shall speak of in another place, the Arabs made me remark an opening, made by one of the Beys of Egypt, to clear it from the sand under which it was buried to a certain depth, adding, that the impiety of such a work as penetrating into the asylum of the dead, soon met with its punishment, and that this Bey lost his life in the last revolution. These very Arabs, however, who pretend to be so scrupulous, made a daily traffic of the mummies, and were in very good

health; but this enterprize of the Bey would probably have hurt their trade, and every trader aspires at a monopoly.

On my return to Gisa, where I had already employed myself in making drawings of the Isle of Rhoda, of the Nilometer, and of Old Cairo, situated opposite, I accepted of the offer made me by a Coptic merchant, of his house, on the opposite shore, from whence I might take a drawing of Gisa and the Pyramids. Whilst I was thus employed, a group of horsemen pass full gallop under our windows, followed by other bodies of cavalry, pistol-shot are heard on every side; the tumult increases,—the master of the house barricades his door,—and we soon heard from the Janissary who accompanied us, that the flames of the revolution, which had lain hid for some days, had broke forth that morning by the assassination of three Beys, and that a fourth, to avoid the same fate, was flying with the remains of his party, to join his adherents in Upper Egypt, where the victorious party were much interested to prevent their junction. We saw at the same time a large armed feluc-

ca take her station in the middle of the Nile, and interrupt the navigation, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives into Lybia, so to escape the proscription. Being hitherto a stranger to the cause of this quarrel, I finished my drawing, and the tumult appearing to be calmed, I went on board, to return to Gisa, not thinking of any obstacle; but scarcely had our boatmen given a few strokes with their oars, when about twenty Mamelukes on horseback arriving full speed, present their pieces at us, and threaten to fire on us, unless we return instantly to shore, which accordingly we did. We were then informed that one of the Beys was at Old Cairo, for the purpose of stopping the passage of the Nile; I in vain objected that this order could not affect me, and as I could receive no other answer from these men than the end of the carbines, I sent a merchant who was with me, to enter into a direct discussion of this matter with the Bey, who they told us was sitting at the corner of a street at a small distance from us. He appeared very much astonished at hearing that I was at Cairo; and when he

MEMOIRS OF THE

knew that I was come there to draw, he very *sensibly* objected to the improper moment I had taken; but my ambassador replying with as much propriety at least, that it was impossible for me to foresee that they would think proper to cut each others throats that morning; he at length obtained, with some apologies for what had passed, the permission to continue my journey. During this interval, one of the Prince's officers stole our pipes, and insisted also on embarking with us, under the pretence of guarding us against insults, but really with the intention of extorting money for this pretended service; on my arrival at Gisa, I immediately prepared for my return to Alexandria.

The Nile, which I had observed to swell, was got to the height, required for the opening of Trajan's canal. The public criers appointed to announce to the people the daily increase of the river, had just proclaimed the feast of the *Arrouffée*, (the feast of the new bridge); but notwithstanding the preparations for it, and the measures taken to pursue the fugitives, I obtained from the Chek El-belet

belet the means of returning to Alexandria, and I re-imbarked on board the same boats which had brought me, to resume a navigation become more agreeable, from the elevation of the water, which now permitted us to behold the most populous, as well as the richest country in the universe.

Eagerly desirous of becoming acquainted with every particular of so interesting an assemblage, I had carefully collected every thing which might throw a light on the government, population, manners, and commerce of the country, and their necessary connections with each other.—The gaiety of the people on the borders of the Nile, inspired me with the desire of going amongst them; but the sight of the Mamalukes alone, who wanted to go on shore with me, would have soon put them to flight, had I not taken the precaution of making them remain on board, and of being accompanied only by Europeans. I have frequently enjoyed the pleasure of collecting the inhabitants of the villages on the banks of the river, and of confirming from them the accuracy of the ideas

had entertained, a picture of which I am now going to present.

Egypt, situated in the eastern angle of Africa, extends from the Mediterranean to Abyssinia, comprehending in space, from the 31st to the 23^d degree of latitude, from the town of Suenna, near the tropic, below the cataracts of the Nile.

This river, whose sources are not well known *, after receiving all the rivers with which Abyssinia, and Ethiopia are abundantly watered, descends into Egypt, which

* A traveller of the name of Bruce pretends, I am told, to have discovered them.—I saw at Cairo the servant he took with him; the guide who conducted him; the companion of his journey. I thoroughly ascertained the fact, that he had no knowledge whatever of this discovery; in answer to which it can only be said, that so learned a man as Mr. Bruce was not obliged to give an account of his observations to his valet. The pride of celebrity is lost in a desert; the distinction of master and servant disappear before the wants which surround them, mutually anxious, and compelled as they must be, to communicate together, and to afford each other mutual succours, the strongest alone must have the superiority over his companions; and the valet I am speaking of, born in the country, had incontestably the best right of warranting, even to Mr. Bruce himself, a discovery purely topographical.

which it traverses from South to North, until within four leagues below Cairo, where, dividing itself into two branches, it forms the island so celebrated, and so well known by the name of the Delta. The plains on each side of the Nile, bounded by higher lands, are alone fit for cultivation as far as the point of this island, called by the Egyptians, in Arabic, *Batnel-Bacara*, (The Cow's Belly); the river not being able to convey any further those treasures with which its waters are known to cover the surface of the earth, by its inundations.

The mountains which run along the Nile, at four leagues distance, opposite Cairo, are only a bed of rocks of forty or fifty feet high, which borders the plains of Lybia. This eminence follows the course of the Nile at a greater or less distance, and appears to be solely designed by Nature, to restrain the general inundation. The side of Arabia, more hilly, belongs to the lands which border on the Red Sea, and already assumes the character of solidity, generally to be observed on the coasts of the sea. Below Cairo, on a level with the summit of the angle

of the Delta, the bed of rocks of Lybia, and the hills of Arabia, form an opening, and separate towards the East and West, parallel with the Mediterranean. This great extent of country, stretching from the kingdom of Barca, as far as Gaza, is overflowed, or liable to be overflowed, by this river. This periodical inundation, in a country where it seldom or never rains, and which, from the burning heat of the sun, and the nature of the soil itself, seems destined to an eternal sterility and dryness, is, without doubt, one of the most surprising phenomena of nature. By observing the mechanism by which it is produced, one may perceive that even Europe contributes to it, by pouring down on Abyssinia and Ethiopia, those exhalations with which our climates abound. The trade winds, which blow regularly from west and north, in the months of June, July, and August, continually press forward the thick clouds, which without depriving Egypt of the sun, convey those vapours into Abyssinia and Ethiopia, and are there rarefied, and enter by a hundred different channels into the Nile, which diffuses them, with

with the limy mud, collected by the waters, in their course, throughout Egypt. It is remarked that this water became muddy from the crumbling of the clayey soil through which it passes, appears in drinking it, as light and free from dirt, as the cleanest spring water: the Egyptians believe that of the Nile to be of a flourishing quality, and say, that they who have once drank out of their river, can never quit its banks.

The worship bestowed by the ancient Egyptians, on the Nile, justified by the benefits they enjoyed from it, is in some measure preserved by the Mahometans; they give this river the title of *very holy*, and honour its swelling with all the ceremonies consecrated to it by Heathen antiquity.

This swelling is observed at the Nilometer, situated on the southern point of the isle of Rhoda, opposite to Old Cairo. Public criers, dispersed through every quarter of the capital, announce daily to the people the increase of the Nile, until it reaches the proper height for opening the canal which conveys its waters into the middle of the town, and from

thence into cisterns. This moment is determined by a certain standard, which cannot be verified with precision on account of the superstition, which will not permit the eye of the curious to approach the graduated pillar, placed in the centre of the basin of the Nilometer. The cry of *Ouf Allah*, God has kept his promise, proclaims the opening of the canal. Children, carrying flags of different colours, accompany the crier, and spread a general joy, arising from the certainty of abundance.

Sultan Selim, after conquering Egypt, gave laws to it, established a new form of government, and determined that this kingdom, now a province of his vast empire, should pay no tribute, except in those years when the Nile should be sufficiently swelled for the opening of this canal. It is only then, in fact, that the overflowing is sufficient for the necessary culture; and this happens every year: but this increase is not that which produces the greatest plenty. For this effect the waters must reach the foot of the mountains; it is then only that the cry is — *Minel-dgebel, il-el-edgbel*, (from one mountain

mountain to the other.) It was, doubtless, from the precaution of the ancient sovereigns of Egypt to guard against the consequences of a too partial inundation, arising from the dryness of some seasons, that they cut that infinite number of canals, of which the principal ones are still kept in repair; but the greatest number of them have been abandoned, and, consequently, more than one half of Egypt left without cultivation. The canals, the most attended to by the government, are those which convey the water to Cairo, into the province of Fayoume, and to Alexandria. An officer, placed as a guard to this last, takes care to prevent the Arabs of Bactria, who enjoy the surplus of the waters of this canal, from turning it off before Alexandria is supplied *, or from opening it before the stated time, which would prevent the swelling of the Nile. That which conveys the water into Fayoume, is also looked after, and must not be opened.

* This event actually happened in 1784, when the water was turned off by one of the Beys to distress his adversaries, by which Alexandria was on the point of being totally deserted.

opened before that of Cairo, which is called the canal of Trajan.

The ancient Egyptians had the barbarous custom of sacrificing a young girl to the Nile, when it swelled to the proper height for opening the canal; which sacrifice they called the *Arrouffee*, the new bride. This name, and the ceremonies of this bloody feast are still preserved, but humanized by the Caliph Omar, who substituted for the victim, a column of earth, in the form of a woman, which is thrown into the Nile. The grandees of Cairo appear at this ceremony in gondolas richly decorated, which is also followed by entertainments and fireworks.

A number of other canals, taken care of only by the inhabitants who enjoy the benefit of them, are connected with the arm of the Nile which goes to Damietta, and fertilize Charkia. This province, situated in the isthmus of Suez, is the most considerable one of Egypt, as well as the most susceptible of a highly improved cultivation. The plains of Gaza, which are beyond this province, and are occupied by the Arabs, would be as fertile,

fertile, did not the spirit of devastation destroy every thing, even to the spontaneous productions of the earth. Many other canals are cut through the Delta, several of which are navigable; and that of Manouf joins the two arms of the Nile below the summit of the angle, which is called the Cow's Belly. This canal comes from Nadir, and not from Gue-seid, where D'Anville has placed its opening; it passes through the province of Manoufia, the cultivation of which can only be compared with the most beautiful kitchen garden. The map of this celebrated geographer appears to me, in other respects, as exact as it was possible to make it, in a country where the government could not allow the bases to be determined, and the face of which is so even as not to present any point from whence observations can be taken.

The country of Egypt is in fact so low, that were it not for a few little hillocks formed by the ruins of ancient Alexandria, and the prodigious height of Pompey's Pillar, the land would not be distinguishable. The whole coast is horizon;

zon ; and it is with difficulty one perceives, from three leagues off at sea, some palm trees, which seem to grow out of the water. It is not to the flatness of the country alone, however, that Egypt is indebted for its periodical inundation.

We have already seen that the trade winds, from West and North, by pushing the clouds of Europe on Abyssinia, blow in the direction of the Nile, in which mechanism of Nature it must be remarked, that the wind, by driving back the waters of the river, becomes the principal cause of its overflowing. Having reached its highest degree towards the middle of September, the winds then becoming trade winds from the Southward, concur with the natural descent of the Nile, to accelerate the draining of the water, at the same time that they collect the superfluous clouds, now of no further use, over Abyssinia and Ethiopia, and carry them, for the same beneficial purpose of a periodical inundation, towards the sources of the Euphrates, to enrich Mesopotamia, after abundantly watering Egypt.

At

At this period, therefore, one sees a column of clouds pass the Red Sea, towards the isthmus of Suez, spread over Syria, and collect on Mount Ararat; whilst the same trade wind blowing in the Gulph of Persia, compressing the waters of the Euphrates, produces in Mesopotamia, by the same means, the same advantages enjoyed by Egypt.

This meteorological observation, the particulars of which I have carefully attended to, may be verified every year, in a climate, where the serenity of the heavens cannot admit of error.

All the descriptions of Egypt hitherto agree in considering the mud, with which the waters of the Nile are loaded during its increase, and which are left on the lands they overflow, as a fattener, which fertilizes the country. In analysing it, however, no vegetative quality is discoverable before its union with the sand, which, together with the clay, composes the soil of Egypt, in about the same proportion as in the earthen manufactures; nor is this mud any other than the produce of the crumbling of the two banks of the Nile, when it carries off the
clayey

clayey part. Its specific lightness, joined to the motion of the waters, keeps its particles suspended, whilst the sand settles, and forms new islands for the inhabitants, after the draining of the waters. The cultivator takes immediate possession of them, his industry supplying the barrenness of the sand, with which he mixes pigeons dung, then sows his water melons, and enjoys a plentiful crop, before the succeeding inundation destroys these islands to produce others.

The whirlpools which occasion these variations, necessarily arise from the double effort, of the descent of the waters, and the wind which counteracts them; but the Nile, notwithstanding this agitation, is so easy to be kept within its bounds, that many fields, situated below the surface of the water, in its increase, are preserved from suffering from the inundation, by means only of a dam of eight or ten inches thickness in moist ground.

This method, which costs the husbandman but little labour, is made use of to preserve the Delta, when it is threatened by an inundation. This island, which
pro-

produces annually three crops, is constantly watered by machines built on the Nile, and on the canals which intersect it, but it is very seldom in danger of being drowned; and this rich part of Egypt, which is close to the sea, would, feel the effects of the swelling still less, did not the trade-winds accumulate the waters of the Mediterranean towards the south.

It is important to observe, that the Delta, higher than the rest of Egypt, is bordered towards the sea, by a forest of palm trees, called the forest of Beleros, the ground of which is far above the highest elevation of the waters, a topographical remark of itself sufficient to overthrow the system of the formation of the Delta by a sediment. Land which is higher than the greatest inundations, can never owe its origin to them; it can only have occasioned the division of the Nile into two branches; but neither this circumstance, nor the existence of the island that separates them, required so much labour; and Mr. Maillet might, in this respect, have spared himself the repetition of the system of Ephoris, which was

was not held in estimation, even by his cotemporaries.

The vestiges of the canals which watered the eastern and western provinces of the Delta, prove that it was formerly the seat of the richest cultivation of Egypt. It may also be presumed, from the extent of the ruins of Alexandria, the structure of the canal, and the natural equality of the lands which surround Lake Marcotis, and which extend from the westward, as far as the kingdom of Barca, that this country, now in the possession of the Arabs, and almost totally uncultivated, was formerly as rich in productions of every kind, as was necessary for the subsistence of Alexandria.

One sees, from the situation of the canal of Alexandria, that after watering that town, and assisting its commerce, it must have fertilized the upper part of those lands, situated on the left bank of the Nile, opposite the Delta; whilst a dyke, thrown up at Bequers*, keeping off the sea, added a large territory to Egypt, the cultivation of which reached

* A small harbour, situated between Alexandria and Rosetta.

ed to the suburbs of that immense city, reduced at present to a small town built on the new isthmus, formed between the two ports, and which joins the Isle of Pharos to the Continent. This capital of the commerce of the universe, long since condemned to serve only as a staple for the consumption of Egypt, seems to have banished itself from its own walls; but it is impossible to throw one's eyes on the extent and magnificence of its ruins, without feeling, that the greatest powers have only a value proportionate to the age which employs them, and the genius of the men entrusted with their management.

Egypt, so situated as to combine the commerce of Europe, Africa, and the East Indies, was in want of a port, which should at once be spacious and easy of approach; the mouth of the Nile offered none of these requisites; the only harbour on that coast was in the midst of a desert, at twelve leagues from the river, and could only be discovered by an elevated genius; a town was to be built, and it was himself who furnished the plan of it. To what a pitch of splendor

dor did he not raise Alexandria, in its origin? He joined it to the Nile by a canal at once navigable, and useful for cultivation. It became the city of all nations, the metropolis of commerce. He is honoured even by its ashes, piled up by the barbarity of ages, and which wait only for some beneficent hand to expand them, and cement the reconstruction of the most stupendous edifice hitherto conceived by the human mind.

The nature of the rock which lines the coast of Egypt, proves that the island, on which the Pharos is built, can only have been formed by the ashes of Alexandria, and that the shallow which separates the two basins, arose from the ruins brought there by the sea. This new shore further testifies the truth of this observation, and the waves daily expose to view a number of engraved stones, which must have belonged to the ruins of the ancient city.

Its ruins testify, at every step, its ancient splendor, and the form of its inclosure, which represents a Macedonian cloak, seems to have awed the very barbarians, in their different sackings of this

this town, by recalling the memory of its founder. The same walls which protected its industry and riches, defend, at this day, its ruins, and exhibit a masterpiece of masonry.

Some historians pretend, that the Saracens built the present walls in place of those they had destroyed; but if the hand of these plunderers is to be traced at all, it is only in the repairs, which are as destitute of neatness as of regularity; it is impossible to attribute to them the construction of the walls, which separate Alexandria from Necropolis; it would be as absurd as giving them the honour of elevating Pompey's Pillar.

This monument, the motive and founder of which are equally unknown, situated near the canal, between Necropolis and the walls of Alexandria, must have belonged to the suburb, which, according to different authors, joined the Lake Marcotis. It may be conjectured, from the fragments of rose granite, and above all from the ancient foundations which surround the column, that it stood in the midst of the Market-place. But, without pushing our inquiries

quiries beyond the limits prescribed by the obscurity of time, the examination of the column itself sufficiently excites our admiration. I will not repeat the description given of it by M. Maillet, and other travellers. I shall content myself with remarking, that this enormous mass, resting on a stone not more than half the size of the *stilobate*, which bears centrically upon it, has only been supported through so many ages by the exact adherence of the two planes, and the perfection of their horizontal workmanship. This point of support, which may be easily examined by a hollow made in the rough stone work, which seems to support its base, consists of a piece of granite, sunk to a greater or less depth into the calcareous rock, which forms the natural foundation. The inspection of the hieroglyphics, engraved on that part of it which is laid open to view, may induce a conjecture, that a fragment of an obelisk has been made use of for the foundation stone. It appears more natural, however, to imagine, that these characters point out the history of the column.

The

The perfect upright I have just spoken of, leaves no doubt of the perpendicular and successive bearings of the stilobate, the base, the shaft, and the capital; but it is very difficult to conceive the means employed in raising this shaft, which is one piece of rose granite of more than nine feet diameter, of the Corinthian order, and upwards of eighty feet high. This work can never have been effected without the aid of cranes, and this observation would induce one to believe that the imitation of Archimedes's crow was known in Egypt before we were acquainted with it; which, in fact, is not more surprizing than to find our joiner's holdfast and plane under the lava of Mount Vesuvius.

This is not the only monument, whose boldness astonishes the traveller in Egypt. Cleopatra's Needle, not less difficult to raise, proves that the arts of Greece were not profusely distributed in such works throughout Upper Egypt. One may observe, even in the capitals of Pompey's Pillar, an imitation of the leaves of the acanthus, too clumsy not to bespeak workmen more accustomed

to move these enormous masses, than to handle the chissel of Phidias. The tool of the Egyptians shows some degree of delicacy only in the cutting of the hieroglyphics. Cleopatra's Needle is covered with them on its four sides; its base, which is buried under rubbish, prevents one from judging of its point of support, but by examining a similar needle, which is overthrown and broken near the former, it is evident that they both rested on four cubes of brass. One may perceive also, that these two obelisks, in the same line with two large ranges of buildings, at equal distances, served to decorate this spot of ground, which, from its vestiges, appears to have been the situation of a palace. That of Cleopatra is supposed to be visible; but I discovered more distinctly, in a rotunda, tolerably well preserved, and above all from several dungeons which surround it, the tribunal of justice, and I was astonished to remark the excellent preservation of the plaister which covers the walls.

More certain marks point out the principal place of Alexandria. Several columns,

lums, two of which are in the centre of one of the sides of the place, and opposite to an enormous quantity of fallen roofs, plainly mark the entrance of the principal Temple, and leave no doubt that they are ruins of that of Jupiter Serapis. If the spirit of destruction was not invariably sluggish and ignorant, these precious remains would disappear more speedily. I have seen the barbarians, who are the depositories of them, employed in hacking the trunks of columns to make millstones, and have had the satisfaction of seeing them lose their labour, from their unskilfulness. These causes preserve, it is true, the larger masses from immediate destruction, but the statues fall an invariable sacrifice to avarice, wherever they are discovered; but such is the fanaticism of the Arabs, that they never sell them to the Europeans, without mutilating these pretended idols. The small profit they acquire from this traffic, not encouraging their labour, fortunately prevents them from bestowing any pains in searching amongst the ruins, and preserves this precious treasure for our posterity.

The suburbs of Alexandria, that which joined Necropolis, and the other, the streets of which are still distinguishable in the plain leading to Rosetta, contain, undoubtedly, a great deal of riches buried under their ruins, and the site of Necropolis † is covered with little hills, which induce one to consider these heaps as the wreck of those temples and monuments raised by the pious superstition of the ancient Egyptians. I have visited the catacombs of this city with attention, (the burying ground of Alexandria) and although they cannot be compared with those of the ancient Memphis, which the Arabs conceal from the eyes of the curious, in order to ensure the sale of their mummies, it is probable that the method of embalming being the same, the form of these catacombs only differ in their proportions. It is observed even that Nature not having furnished this part of Egypt with a ledge of rocks, like that on the borders of the Nile above the Delta, the ancient inhabitants of Alexandria have only been able

† Necropolis, City of the Dead; this Greek word is composed of *Nekros*, Death, and *Polis*, City.

able to imitate them, by making a sort of hollow way in the bed of live rock which they designed for the building of Necropolis. This excavation, of thirty or forty feet wide, two hundred feet long, and twenty-five feet deep, is terminated by gentle descents at its extremities; the two sides perpendicularly cut, contain several large openings ten or twelve feet high, cut horizontally out of the rock, and which form, from their different branches, subterraneous streets. That which curiosity has laid open, by clearing away the rubbish and sand, which render the entrance of the others inconvenient or impracticable, contains no longer any mummies; but the places they formerly occupied, and the order in which they were ranged, are still visible. Holes of twenty inches square, and six feet long in a horizontal direction, narrowed at the end, and separated from one another by partitions, of seven or eight inches thick, left in the rock, divide the two walls of this cavern into chequer work.

We may judge from this description, that each mummy was put with its feet

foremost into the opening destined for its reception, and that new streets were opened out in proportion to the increase of inhabitants at Necropolis. I thought this observation, by throwing some light on the catacombs of Memphis, might explain the enormity, the number, as well as the different elevations of the pyramids of Upper and Lower Egypt; and I shall now examine those of Giza, to draw such inferences from them, as appear to be founded on probability. I have already said, that they are built on the bed of rocks, which extend along the edge of Lybia; two of these pyramids differ very little in their size, and the third, only three hundred feet high, has never been much attended to: the largest of them is six hundred feet long on each side of the square of its base, and of its height; and the curious traveller may examine the inside of this enormous structure. The Consul Maillet, in giving the description, and the most exact plans and sections of it, asserts that this pyramid has been violated, but this singular manner of accounting for the supposed deficiency of the courses of stones, which,

which, according to him, must have concealed the entrance of the galleries by which we penetrate at this day even to the sarcophagus in the centre of the monument, by no means proves the operation of any violence. It appears very certain, on the contrary, that this pyramid never has been shut; nor could avarice or curiosity commit any such violation in fact, without leaving evident traces of the different attempts which must necessarily have been made. None of the sides of the neighbouring pyramid any where indicate their entrance; how then could the entrance to this have been first discovered? Why remove the lower courses of stone, which formed no obstacle? How happens it that the tooth-ing stones should still have preserved so remarkable a neatness in the finishing? In short, how can the *bas relief*, placed below the key of the roof, and the perfection of the whole work have suffered so little by this violence? Maillet, however, in support of his hypothesis, enters into all the details of the labour he supposes, and furnishes the Egyptians with the most complicated means for effecting

what the enormity of these masses, and still more the pious superstition of that people rendered unnecessary for the security of these asylums, which commanded respect from every circumstance.

The accuracy of this writer would have left nothing to be said on the subject of the inside of this monument, had he been able to penetrate into the perpendicular well in the centre of the pyramid, of which he only points out the opening. The different attempts to descend into it, which have proved abortive, either from the want of proper means, or from the timidity of the persons who have made them, still leave a field open for conjectures. It seems to me, however, that as this well could have no apparent object of utility, it ought more properly to be considered as a mysterious passage. This idea, combined with the opinions of the ancient Egyptians, respecting death, will gather more weight from the following observations :

The most interesting remark is in the similarity between the upper and lower tombs. Each pyramid has its catacombs ; the ledge of rock, cut with a chisel, for the

the length of fifty toises, (upwards of six hundred feet English) perpendicularly with the top of the first pyramid, and in a parallel with its horizontal front, has several openings in it, one of which is lateral, and hollowed out in so sloping a direction, as to make it necessary in descending, to have something fastened to the body, even when the Arabs give permission to the traveller to enter it; other passages are still shut with long stones, covered with hieroglyphics and figures in bas relief. One of these openings, by which the Arabs draw out the mummies for sale, is shut only by a wooden door, and the entrance of this cavern is entrusted to the care of an Arab, who lives there to guard it; but notwithstanding the civil reception he gave me, I could only obtain leave from him to look through a window, made by himself, no doubt; but I could discover nothing but a large vault, wherein the eye was lost in darkness, but the direction of which corresponds with the base of its pyramid: Reflecting here on the different branches one passes through at Necropolis, as

well as the proportionable extent and elevation of the town of Memphis, one may easily conceive the enormity of this excavation. Another essential observation is, that the pyramids are incontestibly of the same rock; and it may be boldly pronounced, that the catacomb have been the quarries from which they have been built. If we add to these different remarks, the necessary effects of the prejudices of a people, whose whole life seemed consecrated to death, will it not appear probable, that the inhabitants of Memphis shut up the last catacombs at the beginning of every reign, to open new ones; that the stones procured from this excavation, were employed in constructing the mausoleum of the reigning Sovereign, and that the different sizes of them were proportioned to the length of their respective reigns? These stones, all of the same kind, carried as they were wanted upon the surface, to form these monuments, had only to be placed a little back, as soon as the extent of the first course of stones would allow a calculation to be made of the necessary quantity. It may still further be conjectured, that

that the well I have spoken of, terminating in the lower tombs, furnished the Sovereign, according to their superstitious notions, with the means of communicating with all his subjects who died during his reign; a sufficient motive to inspire him with the precious, and always useful desire, of being loved by them in his life-time.

On this theory, Egypt would in some degree have determined the chronology of her Kings, by a mathematical calculation; and admitting the mean term of mortality in a given population, and the product of the stones of the catacombs in an equal proportion, it would be enough to have the duration of the reign of one of the Pharaohs, and the height of his monument, to find by a rule of proportion, the length of each reign.

In this point of view, too, every idea of oppression, slavery, and tyranny disappears at the sight of these huge masses; and we shall regard them only as a last compact between the Sovereign and his subjects: and if we recollect the severity of that tribunal before which every dead person was arraigned; before he obtain-

ed a burial, we shall believe we have discovered the cause of the opening left in the great pyramid of Giza, and shall behold those which are shut with veneration.

If a general observation of these objects furnishes us with this conjecture, it will be further confirmed by a more attentive examination. The construction of Joseph's canal, the works of Upper Egypt, the celebrated Lake Mœris, and the canals which still enrich the Lower Egypt, are monuments of human labour, as evidently as the pyramids. How can we suppose these to have been the works of tyranny?—The benefactors of mankind, have they ever really been their oppressors? But amongst a people wholly occupied in preparing for their sepulture, who had ever submitted to deny themselves that right they held so dear, unless they were judged worthy of it, it is impossible to suppose that any sort of oppression can have been employed in their construction †.

The

† I do not pretend, in this passage, to impeach what the Holy Scripture tells us of the oppressions suffered by the Israelites in Egypt, and of the labours to which they were condemned.

The proportion of the stones which compose the pyramids, is from seven to eight feet long, by three feet high, and four broad, placed three feet within each other, and one for the covering, although that of the first is totally destroyed, which enables one easily to mount to the top of it. It cannot be doubted that the stones for it had been previously prepared, when one considers the number of prisms granite still spread around this monument. I found one, the side of the hypothenuse of which had been cut, to serve as one of the angles of the pyramid. This discovery would have saved Mr. Maillet the trouble he has taken to discover from the cement the quality of the covering; it would also have prevented him from mistaking some fragments of the calcareous rock for pieces of white marble. It may be presumed, that the prisms which still cover the upper part of the second pyramid, will be detached for the sole pleasure of seeing these masses roll down on the lower beds of the monument. This must have been the cause of the destruction of those prisms that are wanting, for which the

the slightest effort is sufficient; and this sort of amusement is to be gratified by some people at any expence.

It is opposite to the second pyramid, a small distance before the rock, that the famous Sphynx, much more celebrated than it merits, is still to be seen. It is no more, in fact, than a mass of rock, extending in the shape of an ass's back to the great ledge, in the direction of the centre of this pyramid. They have given to this rock the form of a Sphynx; and have cut two square wells out of its back, to serve by way of entrance into the catacombs, and by this means, the tombs seemed to be intrusted to the guardianship of this monster.

It appears also, that each pyramid and catacomb had their temple, the ruins of which are only to be found, notwithstanding the precaution of building them with enormous stones. I measured one of them twenty-two feet long, by seven feet high, and nine feet thick, the joints of which are still perfectly united. When we consider that the most ancient writers only speak of these edifices as we speak of them ourselves, at what epocha shall

we

we fix the construction of several large pyramids to the west of those of Giza, of which there is nothing remaining but a few courses of stone? I shall not speak of those small tombs, which are scarcely visible; but I cannot quit these monuments, without communicating the sensation produced on myself by their very aspect, which alone can give any idea of the height of these masses, which we cannot represent by any object of comparison.

I have already said, that I set out at midnight from Giza, with the Arabs, who were to conduct me to their pyramids, of which we followed the direction without losing sight of those huge piles, which seemed to me like so many mountains. —Arriving at a village, which had hid them for a moment; on coming out of it, they appeared to me so prodigiously elevated, that I thought I could have touched them. I was even going to dismount, when my guides told me that we were still at a league's distance. We continued our journey in fact near three quarters of an hour, at the end of which the pyramids appeared to me so much diminished,

minished, that I got from my horse, at a hundred paces from the first, as much astonished at the smallness of its height, as I had before been at its enormous size ; but I soon found its magnitude again on approaching it, and these contradictory phenomena of my vision, induced me to examine it on the principles of optics. For that purpose I went to the distance of more than six hundred paces from the pyramid, on a plane, horizontal to its base. I then turned round, and this point of view giving me its greatest elevation, I remarked, that at this distance, the perpendicular height of the monument filled the angle of the rays of vision, so that on coming nearer this angle, which I shall compare with the two points of a compass, could only embrace one part ; and at one hundred paces distance, I could scarcely discover the third, which was the cause of the sensation I had experienced. It follows from this observation, that every elevation which goes beyond the chord of the two rays of vision, is an excess, and every thing which does not fill it, a deficiency. This principle would be usefully applied to buildings,

buildings, if the dimensions were to be determined by the distance of the spectator *. Although the affairs I was entrusted with did not allow me to visit the plains of the mummies, I was informed from undoubted authority, that the sands which covers them, still preserves the property of drying the bodies. The rock beneath serves at the same time for the luxury of private burials. May we not conclude from hence, that this plan, out of reach of the inundations, and from that reason as useless to the living as favourable to the dead, served by way of burial ground for the inhabitants of those small towns and villages of Egypt, who, from

* The colonnade of the Louvre has been sensibly increased in magnitude since the houses have been knocked down, which obliged the spectators to take too near a view of it. It would be seen in its highest perfection, if it could be laid open as far as the church of St. Germain L'Auxerrois; further off, it would lose its beauty. For the same reason, the colonnade of the Palace of Louis XV. should have been proportioned to its distance from the road to Versailles; and one cannot help regretting at seeing the church of St. Genevieve from the Rue St. Jacques, that so beautiful a copy of the antique, should have been measured with the bold proportions of its models.

from their situation, could be conveyed thither.

The people of the country say, that the funeral monuments of Thebais are innumerable, and surpass, in magnificence, those of Memphis and Alexandria. They add, that temples are still to be seen there, whose columns of rose granite are as large as that of Pompey, and that the paintings on the inside are not less remarkable. It cannot be doubted that Upper Egypt contains also an infinity of treasure buried under its ruins. It is not long since, that a Copt discovered an urn filled with medals of gold, the greatest part of which he secretly melted; but an Englishman had the good fortune to procure about a hundred of them, some of which are now in the King of France's Cabinet.

There is no reason to imagine that such an instance, by exciting the cupidity of the inhabitants, will be attended with any bad consequence respecting the preservation of these monuments; the dread of the persecutions which would follow such discoveries, will always restrain those who might be tempted to pursue them.

Amongst

Amongst the different works which have thrown a lustre on ancient Egypt, the canal of communication between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, would merit the first place, if the efforts of genius in favour of public utility, were seconded by the generations destined to reap the fruits of it; and if the fundamental principles of social good, could acquire as much stability as the prejudices which tend to overthrow it. This, however, is the epitome of all history: it offers nothing but this picture, which is the picture of all nations, and of all ages. Without these successive scenes of destruction, the universe would have been governed only by its geography; the situation the most favourable by nature, would have dictated unalterable laws, and the canal of the Red Sea would have formed the perpetual basis of the public rights of nations.

The most ill-founded opinions, but which always prevail over the most accurate observations, have established pretty general doubts on the existence of this canal; even the possibility of it has been denied: Diodorus Siculus, however,

however, bears testimony to its existence; and whatever opinion may be entertained of this author in other respects, there is no reason for rejecting his authority respecting facts to which he was himself a witness.

He expresses thus, in his *Universal History*:—*Book the First, Second Part.*

—“ A canal of communication is made,
“ which goes from the Pelusiatic Gulph
“ into the Red Sea. Necos, son of *Psfam-*
“ *meticus*, began it; Darius, King of
“ Persia, continued the work; but he
“ stopped it, on the advice of some en-
“ gineers, who informed him, that by
“ opening out the lands, he would over-
“ flow Egypt, which they found to be
“ below the level of the Red Sea. Ptolemy
“ the Second, nevertheless, finished
“ the undertaking; but he made them
“ place, in the most convenient part of
“ the canal, barriers or sluices, very in-
“ geniously contrived, which are opened
“ when one wants to pass them, and are
“ very quickly shut. It is for this reason
“ that the river takes the name of Ptolemy,
“ in this canal, which discharges itself
“ into the sea, at the spot where the town
“ of

“ of Arfinoë is built.”—It is proved from this passage, that sluices were in use in the time of Diodorus, of Sicily. The foundation on which they were built, is to be seen at this day. This monument of antiquity was discovered near Suez, at the entrance of the canal, that still exists, and which a very trifling labour would render navigable without employing any sluices, or threatening Egypt with inundations*. Nothing, in fact, could justify the engineers of Darcus, even although their level had been taken at the moment of the highest tides. It is likewise very important to observe, that all this part of the isthmus affords the most favourable soil for excavations, in the small space of twelve leagues, which separates the Arabic Gulph from the branches of

* Sultan Mustapha, whose mind began to be enlightened, made me undertake a work respecting this important object, the execution of which he reserved until the return of peace. At that period, too, he proposed to attack the vices of his government; and I have reason to presume that he would, amongst the rest, have sacrificed even his own despotism, had this Prince survived the unfortunate circumstances, which have prepared the way for the downfall of this empire.

of the Nile that approach it, until it throws itself, at length, into the Mediterranean at Tineck.

After taking a cursory view of the monuments which appear more properly to appertain to the universe, than to Egypt in particular, let us now examine the present state of that kingdom. Were we to view it with an eye to the various circumstances which constitute the power of a nation, the politician would perhaps behold only with a sort of contempt this great metropolis of the world, the cradle of all the arts and all the sciences, reduced at this day to be the province of the least powerful of empires; but the political philosopher will view it under an aspect more worthy his attention; and if he still finds in that climate the productions, and the population of ancient Egypt, the same causes which have rendered it so celebrated; these permanent advantages which cannot be destroyed by ages, and have resisted the greatest revolutions, will have a decided preference over those governments, which, like chymical compositions, disappear on the first contrary process to that which has produced

duced them. Such no doubt were those powers, the memory of which is transmitted us by history, whose capitals are scarcely to be found by geography.

In Egypt, on the contrary, we see their greatest Kings concerting their ambition in works useful for the cultivation of the earth, which never failed to furnish them with the means of quenching that thirst of glory, which the rest of the world led mankind to intoxicate themselves with—the destructive notions of robbery and conquest.

Did the immensity of the labour allow us to attribute the formation of Lake Mœris to the work of man, the utility of this prodigious reservoir would constitute the chief monument of the beneficence of the Pharaohs; but although the extent and depth of this lake leave some doubt of its origin, there can be none on the subject of the canal of Joseph, that of Trajan, and of Alexandria, and those of the Delta. They have visibly been formed by the hand of man. The facility with which the lands are watered by their means, leaves not a spot of ground uncultivated; and the richness
of

of the soil, by multiplying the crops, maintains and animates the population. There is no country existing where it is more remarkable than in Egypt. The Delta; in fact, the eastern and western provinces, as well as all the lands on the banks of the Nile, as far as the Tropic, present a picture of the most immense population. I am assured that in Egypt there are more than *nine thousand villages*, and *one hundred and two thousand* towns or burghs. It is very certain, however, that these places are so near each other, that on my stopping at *Mentoubes*, below *Fouca*, I counted no less than forty-two of them, in running over the horizon with my eye, and the most distant of which was not two leagues off.

Every where throughout this country, within the reach of the inundations, these habitations are built on little hills, thrown up for that purpose, and which form the common foundation of all the houses that are built on them, and which they are induced to compress in as small a space as possible, for the benefit of cultivation.—The precaution of elevating them is essentially necessary to prevent the

the houses, which are built of earth from being destroyed by the inundations. The villages are always surrounded by an infinite number of little pointed turrets, to attract the pigeons for the purpose of collecting their dung. Every settlement has likewise a small wood of palm trees adjoining it, which is common property, and furnishes the inhabitants with dates for their consumption, and the leaves for the making of baskets, matts, and other articles of that nature. Little causeways, elevated also on account of the inundation, keep up a free communication every where during that period. It is on the borders of the Nile, and on the great canals, that the large towns are formed, where all the houses are built of brick, of several stories, and in pretty much the same taste as that which prevailed in France in the time of Francis the First: the palm-trees which surround them, and the boats which line their banks, add much to the beauty of their situation.

It is thus, by uniting agriculture with commerce, that all the towns of Egypt are connected, animated, and profited by the

the mutual industry that surrounds them. But Cairo does not limit the advantages of her situation to the sole interest of Egypt; her commerce embraces the two hemispheres of the globe: one there sees the streets daily embarrassed by the number of camels employed in transporting the merchandize of Europe, and of the Indies; and the assemblage of bales, some marked for Madras, and others for Marseilles, seems here to have fixed a centre to the universe.

Cairo, called Missir by the Arabs, is situated at half a league's distance from the Nile, on the right bank of that river:—This town touches the mountains of Arabia; and it is at the angle formed by them in stretching to the eastward, that the castle of Cairo is built:—Boulac, and Old Cairo are its suburbs; and if we comprehend these two towns, in calculating the population of the capital, we shall find in the 700,000 inhabitants it contains, a fresh proof of the immense population of Egypt*.

Cairo

* The Chief of the Custom-house in Egypt, who must be considered as the Contrôler General of that kingdom, assured me that the town of Cairo ALONE

Cairo contains some palaces spacious enough to merit decoration; such as the Palace of Lusbequia, that of Romelia, and that of the grand Mosque, called Sultan Hassan; but all the streets are narrow, badly contrived, and ill paved; the palaces themselves, which contain the greatest riches, have nothing in their external appearance that announces the opulence of this town. Wholly occupied with the rich commerce of the productions of Egypt, by the Nile; those of Europe, by the Mediterranean; and with that of Yemen, and the Indies, by the Red Sea; this capital still further swallows up all the territorial revenues expended there by the grandees. Its subsistence, which is connected also with commerce, increases its wealth, and luxury is consequently grown to such a height, as to under-value even gold, and they can scarcely be satisfied with the richest fabrics of India.

Every thing that in another country must be the sole produce of an enlighten-

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contained more than 700,000 inhabitants; and I have added the suburbs of Boulac and Old Cairo to my calculation, to avoid the possibility of exaggeration.

ed administration, constantly directed on the most salutary principles, springs from its own happy soil in Egypt. The richness of its productions, by supplying the avidity of the tyrant, secures the cultivator from the effects of tyranny; and its superfluous corn, become a most essential article for Arabia Felix, procures fresh articles of barter, and places active commerce on the most solid and independent footing.—The principal ports of Egypt are Suez and Alexandria; but it is not from these two harbours that we must judge of the importance of its trade; where there is no administration, there can neither exist corporate bodies of traders, exclusive private privileges, nor subaltern monopolies; commerce takes its natural level, real substantial credit gets possession of it, the cultivator becomes the partner of the merchant, and its agents receive their pay. It is on this principle, doubtless, that we must account for the poverty of the two towns I have been speaking of; they are only hired agents of commerce. Suez, in particular, is remarkable for the misery of its inhabitants; and the Arabs have become

come masters of the privilege of transporting the merchandize, without renouncing that of pillaging, as often as anarchy gives them the opportunity of doing it unpunished.

Besides the corn which Egypt exchanges in the Yemen, for the coffee which is sold in Europe, and particularly amongst the Turks, the rice, the flax, the salt of natrum, made use of in the tanneries; sal ammoniac, for tin work; kenna and safranum, for dying; the most precious drugs and gums, constitute most important articles of commerce. Sugar is the only article, wherein the industry of the Egyptians does not exceed the consumption of the country; and the small quantity of powder sugar exported to Constantinople, does not bespeak the quality of that fine sugar which comes from Upper Egypt, and is refined at Cairo. The Delta furnishes also a great quantity of sugar canes; but they are only cultivated there for the pleasure of the inhabitants, who use them by way of refreshment. A more useful branch of industry is the manufacture of linens, which is under no restraint or regulation,

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and extends even to the catacombs, as well as the culture of indigo; and the cloathing, which in this burning climate consists only in a linen shirt, always died blue, enables them likewise to export a quantity of that article. There is a considerable commerce, likewise, for the salt, found in the natural salt-pits in the lower parts of Egypt, for the supply of the coast of Syria, and the interior parts of the country as far as Damascus.

It is worthy of remark, that foreign plants, transplanted into Egypt, degenerate there, so as to be incapable of reproduction. This happens with the indigo: and it is as remarkable, that the fields of indigo, annually sown with fresh grain, brought from Syria, furnish the Egyptians with a most beautiful dye; whilst the same plant is without that quality in its native soil. It follows from this observation, that the indigo of Syria must be transplanted; but that the luxuriance of the soil of Egypt, and the great heat of the sun, injures the quality of the grain, by giving it the property of a hot house.

To the goodness of the soil, and the richness of the productions of Egypt, must be

be added the perfect salubrity of the air; a circumstance particularly striking, when we consider that Rosetta, Damietta, and Mansoura, surrounded by plantations of rice, are celebrated for the health of their inhabitants; and Egypt is, perhaps, the only country in the world where this sort of cultivation is not unhealthy, from the necessary quantity of stagnated waters. Riches in that country are in no respect injurious to the life of man.

The inquiries I carefully made respecting the plague, which I had always imagined to be of Egyptian origin, convinced me, that it would not even be known in that country, were not the infection conveyed to Alexandria by its commerce with Constantinople. It is in the former town that it always begins to show itself. It is but very seldom, too, that it reaches Cairo, although no precaution is taken to prevent it; and when it does, the great heats soon put a stop to it, and hinder it from penetrating into the said town; besides, it is well known, that the piercing dews which fall in Egypt, towards Midsummer, destroy even at Alexandria the very seeds of this disorder.

It is only on the coasts of the Mediterranean, and about ten leagues up the country, that rains are known in Egypt; they very rarely extend any farther. There scarcely falls two hours gentle rain in a year at Cairo; thunder is never heard, and storms, which are very uncommon, always fall on the elevated parts of the deserts of Lybia and Arabia, where they have nothing to destroy. It is thus that every thing concurs in diffusing over Egypt the choicest gifts of Nature; birds of every kind, and of the rarest species of them, seem to collect here in quantities to enjoy its beauties and advantages, and to join their warblings to the natural gaiety of the inhabitants.

The course of the Nile presents the most interesting picture of this kind. The borders of this river, as well as of all the canals, are constantly covered with people employed in watering the ground, either by drawing it themselves, or by driving the animals which assist them in their labours; an infinite number of draw-buckets, and of vertical wheels, are placed for this purpose on the banks; the

the water, which is raised by them, and is first conveyed into a trench, is distributed throughout the grounds, by different branches, which are contrived, and made use of by the industrious and active planter, with equal skill and œconomy. The women who have the management of the house, are likewise to be seen carrying the river water in pitchers on their heads for culinary uses; others wash their linen, bleach their cloaths, spread them out, and give themselves up to their natural gaiety, at the first object that amuses them. They then make the air resound with a lively and rolling sound, *the lululatus* of the Romans. The passage boats established between one town and another, the barks for the conveyance of the different productions, and the continual navigation resulting from this commerce, add greatly to the variety and beauty of this moving picture.

This navigation is above all remarkable for the agility of the sailors, and the manner in which they convey the earthen ware, manufactured in Upper Egypt.—

Before I explain this, it is necessary to

observe, that the earthen jars, employed in preserving the water for the inhabitants, must be made larger in proportion to the distances of their houses from the river or canal; the Lower Egypt being thus situated, the potters of Upper Egypt avail themselves of this circumstance, to economize their means of conveyance: the largest jars tied together by their handles form the bottom of their raft, the middle sized ones the second; the smaller articles come next. The proprietor contrives himself a convenient place upon his floating shop, and furnished with a pole to direct his landing; he abandons himself to the current without being afraid of striking on a soft clay which can hurt nothing. In this manner does he arrive at the Delta, where his vessel soon disappears, by the successive sale of the materials that composed it.

The Egyptians, naturally gentle and timid, are likewise gay and debauched; all their actions partake at bottom of this character; the smallest circumstance terrifies them, — the slightest civility renders

ders them familiar. The taste of this people for dancing has introduced women dancers into Egypt, in which they know no restraint, and take no pleasure but in excess. Excepting that the Egyptians have tawny skins, they appear to me a beautiful race of people, their bodies are remarkably slender, and formed for activity. The men and women swim like fishes; their dress consists only of a blue shirt, which scarcely descends low enough to hide the nakedness of the women;—the men fasten theirs, which comes no lower than round their waists, for the convenience of working;—the children are always naked, and I have seen young girls, still treated as children, at eighteen years of age.

The Mahometan is the established religion of the Egyptians, but these people add a great many ceremonies, which are more connected with their taste for public shows, than with the precepts of the Prophet. Brotherhoods of penitents, nocturnal processions with wax tapers, dresses adapted to this sort of devotion, the hymns which are used at burials, the

tears which are shed on these occasions, and the *Epulum Ferales* *. These practices are all rather borrowed from the superstition of their ancestors, than from the new religion they have embraced. The Egyptians, however, have less ferocity in the exercise of their prejudices than the Turks, who have fewer superstitious rites. But the latter are proud and overbearing, whilst the Egyptians are only weak. One may perceive, also, that the amusements which accompany their ceremonies, captivates them more than the ostensible motive; and that the gaiety and libertinism of the people, have more effect in their favourite pilgrimages, than the Saint has influence over the minds of those who collect to worship him.

The Saints the most respected, are the Iman Chafi, at Cairo, and the Iman of Tinta, a town situated in the middle of the

* The Banquet of the Dead, practised amongst the Romans, in use amongst the Greeks, and rejected by the Mahometans; but it still prevails in Egypt, where the Calif Omar thinks, doubtless, that it is better to give way to the superstition, more securely to govern the superstitious.

the Delta. This last is called Seid Achmet Bedouit. In the month of July, more than 200,000 persons flock to this tomb, from Upper and Lower Egypt. Commerce which profits by every thing, has established a fair at that time; women-dancers, and jugglers, collect there also, whilst it lasts. Tinta then combines every thing which can contribute to the gratification of the pilgrims; and the Chek of the Mosque of Seid Achmet and Bedouit, gathers a plentiful harvest, by taxing the devotion of some, and the pleasures of the greatest part of them.

Each town in Egypt also has its Saint, its processions, and diversions; every body repairs there,—at least, from the neighbourhood; and the government affords them a sort of protection. It cannot be doubted, that here, as well as elsewhere, the Saint of the capital enjoys all the privileges of the metropolis, and that his tomb is constantly supplied with customers. But the devotion of the women, always more fervent in every country than that of the men, is not limited in Egypt to the invocation of

Manes;

Manes; and as rogues are always encouraged by dupes, many Saints are to be seen at Cairo in perfect good health, to whom the women address themselves in preference to the dead ones. It is generally at the gate, or in the court of the Mosques, that these predestined Saints take up their habitations, lying on an indifferent mat; their dress proclaims that they already think themselves in Paradise; and this air of blessedness cherishes the veneration of the people. Others, to give themselves more importance, march gravely along the streets, covered only with a long tunick of white wool. They preach contempt of riches, but ask alms with insolence, and constantly proclaim the end of the world.

One of these Saints gave a proof in Egypt, that the habit of cheating others, leads men at length to impose upon themselves. One of these knaves, become an enthusiast, announced to the people the day and hour when, on pronouncing the name of God, he would pass the Nile, standing on a mat. A croud of curious people accompanied him

him to the shore; the Saint soon disappeared in the waves; and the fools, who were waiting for the miracle, by giving it time to operate, left the mad-man time enough to drown himself.

Humanity, degraded by these pious absurdities, is honoured, however, in Egypt, by an unlimited establishment for the blind; it is from this reason, that from its being open to a general reception, all the blind are collected at Cairo, which has given sanction to the opinion, that this misfortune is multiplied by the climate. They reckon about four thousand, maintained by the Mosque of Sultan Hassan; but, comparatively with our climate, this number does not exceed, perhaps, the proportion of the inhabitants. It must be allowed, however, that in Egypt, this disorder attacks, more particularly, that class of individuals who lie habitually in the streets, or on the terraces of the houses. A fresh dew, which falls in the night, insensibly affects the eye-lids, and disposes them to ulceration, from the contrast with the heat of the day. But on the other hand,
the

the sight of those who sleep under cover does not even pay the usual tribute, to which intemperance alone subjects the inhabitants of other climates.

After having considered the monuments of Egypt, the beauty of its climate, its population, the activity of its inhabitants, and the richness of its productions, there is nothing remaining but to throw a glance of contempt on its wretched government.

Some Georgian children transported into Egypt, and sold there, re-people ten or twelve thousand Mamalukes, which trifling number furnishes the Beys with subalterns more cruel than their masters, and who carry their tyrannical orders into execution with aggravated barbarity. In examining the canons, or code of Sultan Selim, one would imagine that this Prince capitulated with the Mamalukes, rather than conquered Egypt. It is evident, in fact, that by suffering the twenty-four Beys to subsist, who governed that kingdom, he only aimed at ballancing their authority, by that of a Pacha, whom he constituted Governor General,

General, and President of the Council ; and this was actually the case as long as the Porte was able effectually to support its officers ; but the weakness of the Ottoman government soon reduced it to the sole resource of forming divisions amongst the Beys, in order to maintain its own authority over them. It is thus that the Turks, by always espousing the weakest party, created themselves new enemies ; and these frequent errors have reduced the Pachas to an empty title, sometimes flattered by the Mamalukes, who always take care, however, to retain the person who bears it, shut up in a close prison.

The celebrated *Ali-Bey* † contributed the most to this anarchy ; he had formed the project of becoming independent, and it was to attain that object, that, in the days of his great influence, after expelling or murdering all the Beys who appeared

† For the views and transactions of Ali-Bey, and the Cheik-Taher, see Doddsley's Annual Register for 1773 ; in which, however, there are many erroneous particulars respecting the Baron de Tott, the Grand Visir, and Hassan Pacha. — Translator.

appeared to possess too much power for him, to give him hopes of making them instrumental in his designs, he forced the Pacha to confer all the vacant dignities on his own slaves. He thought also, that he could not govern Egypt in tranquillity, but by making the *Cbeik-Taber* master of all Syria and Damascus, as far as Gaza, which he reserved for himself. He intended at the same time, to establish the independence of the Druses and Mutualis, whom he sought for allies, imagining, that after raising this impenetrable barrier to the Ottoman power, he should have no difficulty in placing the crown of Egypt on his head.

One of his slaves, however, whom he had elevated to the dignity of Bey, dared to enter the lists with him as his rival; and assuming the mask of fidelity which did not impose upon the Porte, *Mouhamet-Bey* attacked his master, and was successful; and, with less enlightened views than him, he flew to annihilate the *Cheir-Taher*, in order to re-unite Syria to Egypt. His ingratitude escaped unpunished: he was not so fortunate in his politics.

politics. He lost his life at the siege of Acra; and Murad-Bey, who pretended to succeed him, was only the tyrant of the day, destroyed by the last revolution, which has left *Ismael-Bey* at the head of the government, which has already met with opposition, and has taken no character or consistency.

The frequent quarrels which call the Mamalukes to arms, resemble more the tumult of an assassination, than an open war. The dissensions of the tyrants afford the people a spectacle which serves only to amuse them. Silent spectators, indifferent about the success, without concern, and without hope, they never attempt to interrupt any of their operations. If the indifference of the people respecting these events, which occur so frequently, be astonishing; when one considers the facility with which they could dispose of their tyrants, the tranquillity of the latter is still more surprising; there is no visible restraint whatever for the multitude; and the Mamalukes appear to contend for Egypt, as a band of robbers would dispute the division of a booty.

Each

Each Bey, Governor of a province, names his *Kiachefs*, a sort of Sub-governor in every district. These petty tyrants, invested with the dignity which prepares the way for their arriving at that of Bey, attach to themselves some Mamalukes without employment, and all the towns and villages of Egypt, reserved for the Beys, or parcelled out by them amongst their creatures, are subject to a territorial tribute. The cultivator holds his lands at the disposal of the master, assigned him by the ruling party. The body of Mamalukes dispersed throughout Egypt, are always attracted to Cairo on every revolution; but these quarrels, by restoring the inhabitants to their liberty, never inspire them with the idea of preserving it, and the tyrants never imagine, that whilst they are skirmishing at the gates of the town, they may be shut against them.

All the Beys reside at Cairo, and they have no other troops but their own slaves. It is there that intrigues lay the foundation of their frequent revolutions; when they are ready to break out, the *Kiachefs*, their clients, fly with the Mamalukes.

malukes to join their masters, or to betray them, by deserting to the opposite party, when they find their advantage in it. What can be expected from the combination of such forces, without either discipline, or attachment to the public-weal? their avidity, which is the ruling motive that collects them, disperses them, as soon as they feel the influence of a stronger interest.

The castle of Cairo, which scarcely merits that appellation, is in general the spot where their disputes commence; and the contending parties, to get possession of this post, respectively use every endeavour to bring over to their side the Mamalukes who command it. The possession of the town is the sole object of their conquest, which is always followed by that of all the Lower Egypt, because there is nobody to dispute it, and that the situation of Cairo on the Nile, commands the commerce of all its productions, the sole interest of the cultivator; but this town depends, in its turn, on the Delta, and Upper Egypt, from whence it draws its subsistence. The Seid, is, on this account, the only resource

source of the fugitives, where they retire, to interrupt the navigation of the river, and starve the capital.

Troops detached by the victorious party, follow up the destruction of the vanquished Beys, who only obtain pardon by reducing their attendants to two or three Mamalukes, and residing at a distance, whilst their partizans continue to negotiate, and always with success, for their return to Cairo, to join the prevailing party.—During this war against the fugitives, the Cheik-Amman, who commands the Arabs in Upper Egypt, becomes a man of consequence; his assistance is solicited by both parties: but the Arabs confined in Lybia and Stony Arabia, less necessary, not so accommodating, and less instigated to take a part, pillage on every side: the Delta alone, surrounded by the waters, is preserved from their depredations, and the Mamalukes flying on the two banks of the river, escape with difficulty from their researches. The confusion is general, until a fresh partition of the governments, districts, and villages, re-establishes the administration,

tration, and again delivers Egypt over to new tyrants.

A short account of the revolution to which I was myself a witness, will confirm the idea I have here given of the Mamalukes.

After the death of Mouhamet Bey, of whom I have already spoken, the Beys of Egypt, divided into two parties, were preparing in silence the means of mutual destruction. Murat, burning with the same ambition which had animated his former master, connected with Ibrahim, the *Cbek Elbelet**, and some other Beys of less importance. They exercised their tyranny without interruption, whilst Ismael, Jussuf, and some other Beys, were themselves watching the moment to take possession of the government.

Ismael-Aga, a man of abilities, full of art, and a perfect master of treachery and dissimulation, apparently attached to Murat Bey, governed in his name, and fomented and supported the oppressions, to which several Coptic and Turkish merchants had fallen the victims. Murat, however, on his return from Lachorkye, where

* Commander in Chief.

where he had been harrassing the Arabs, was informed that one of his people had been bastinadoed by Soliman *Kiachef*, who was attached to Jussuf Bey; he sent for the *Kiachef*, and ordered him to be repaid that correction with interest: Jussuf knew so well how to dissemble this offence, that Murat was encouraged to imagine he could attempt every thing with impunity. His rivals had even affected to receive him on his return to Cairo, in a sort of triumph, and both he and Ibrahim thought themselves in a state of security; when on the 18th of July, 1777, Ismael, Jussuf, all the Beys of their party, and their Mamalukes, quitted the town to get possession of Old Cairo, and consequently of the navigation of the Nile, giving the Chek Elbellet, and Murat to understand, at the same time, that they had better quietly submit, than wait till they were compelled to it by the sword or famine. So sudden a revolt, not giving them time to collect their Mamalukes, they had no other resource than by taking possession of the Castle of Cairo, the commanders of which are always in the interest of the ruling

ruling party. Murat and Ibrahim, however, daily challenged, and streightened by the troops which besieged them in the Castle, tried in vain the influence of the firmans * of the Pacha, whom they kept a prisoner, but who probably did not wish to extricate them from their difficulty. An event still more disagreeable for Murat, was the desertion of Ismael-Aga, who, we have seen, was his principal agent and adviser. This man, instead of coming to the Castle to follow the fortune of his master, went over to the other party, with upwards of 800,000 sequins, which were entrusted to his care. This treachery soon reduced Murat and Ibrahim to the necessity of flying into Upper Egypt with a slender retinue, with which they took possession of Minies. The deserter, Ismael, was invested with the dignity of Bey, as well as Soliman Kiachef, to whom they made a present of Murat's house, by way of indemnity for the bastinado he had received there a fortnight before. Peace was published.

* An ordinance in form of edict, which the Pachas with three tails, called *Visirs* of the Bench, issue out in the Grand Signior's name.

at the same time, and Jusuf-Bey, so blinded by his pride, as not to see that he had only been the instrument of this revolution, was already imprudent enough to manifest his intentions of governing his associates; but the two Ismaels were not long in punishing him for having formed so erroneous an opinion of their characters; they assassinated him in his own house,—his adherents suffered the same fate, and the new Bey, Soliman, was degraded from his dignity. This event, however, by no means promised a lasting peace, and we may fairly presume that the destruction of the fugitives would terminate the harmony of the two tyrants.

I shall not quit Egypt without submitting to historians, and geographers, an observation, without which, the particulars of the landing of St. Lewis, at Damietta, as given us by Joinville, would be unintelligible. This ocular witness of the fact, says, that the King's fleet, dispersed after its leaving Cyprus, collected together at Damietta, where Lewis landed on an island which communicated with the town by a bridge. It follows from

from this, that the Nile falling at that time into the sea, perpendicularly with the coast, had a small arm, which stretching to the eastward, formed an island opposite to Damietta. This branch is now become the main bed of the river; and the filling up of the ancient mouth, by joining the island to the Delta, presents the geographer, at this day, only with a tongue of land, which is covered by the town. The historian will perceive, also, that if this change had taken place before the arrival of the Crusaders, their situation would not have been so distressing as it was; the Delta would not only have furnished them with abundance of provisions, but an impenetrable asylum against the cavalry of the Mamelukes, and the situation the most advantageous for the purpose of reducing them. But it was on the opposite bank that Saint Lewis exposed his army to be cut off from the means of subsistence, by giving the Soudan the opportunity of uniting all his forces against him. Joinville speaks of Tanis too, one of the canals of Charkia, as a branch of the Nile, and appears not to be acquainted with

the point of the Delta that separates them. I shall here observe, also, to natural philosophers, that the fort of St. Lewis, built on the point of the tongue of land, formerly the isle, on which the landing was effected, is still bathed by the waters of the sea; and if we consider that the epocha of its construction must necessarily be coeval with the existence of the harbour of Frejus, from which the Saint-King embarked on his expedition to Egypt, we may conclude that the filling of that harbour, and its distance from the water at this day, must be attributed only to the constant accumulations of the soil and other matters, since it is evident, from the present state of fort St. Lewis, that there has been no sensible alteration in the level of the sea.

After I had reimbarked at Alexandria, the frigate sailed along the coast of Egypt, steering clear of the shallow rocks that render it inaccessible as far as Damietta, the road of which we crossed, and bent our course towards Joppa, where the dock is hardly large enough to shelter a few small vessels. We anchored in the road, at near two leagues distance from
the

the beach. The frigate took this station on the coast of Syria, to enable me to go to Rames : I went to this town of Palestine on horseback, where the Christian Solicitor of the Holy Land came from Jerusalem to have an interview with me. This Recollet Friar had with him, by way of escort, the four principal Arabs of the Mountain. Such was the influence of his money, that on receiving my messenger, he made these Princes, who had long been at variance, conclude a truce for the sole purpose of coming more conveniently to see me.

The Governor of Jerusalem, who had arranged this pacification, was desirous that I should avail myself of it, to wait upon him ; but the more desirous he appeared of giving me a good reception, the less was I tempted to pay the expences of such a visit ; besides that the importance of the Solicitor in the country appeared to me too well established for me to add any thing to it, and the relics with which the Holy Directory gratified me, left me nothing more to wish for.

The country between the sea and Jerusalem is flat, and for about six leagues in

breadth very fertile. The Indian fig-tree*, of which the hedges are formed, serves as an insurmountable barrier for the security of the fields. Their trade consists in cotton, and their industry in spinning; and this part of the Holy Land is particularly curious from the vestiges of the Crusaders, with which it is covered.

Mahometanism, whilst it destroys these monuments, still retains the means of profiting by the pious enthusiasm that raised them. But the policy of the Turks in admitting the Greeks and the Latins to partake of the holy places, in order to benefit by their divisions, reckoned more upon their pride, than upon their devotion. So substantial a revenue has surpassed their expectations; the quarrels between the adherents of the two rites are inexhaustible; and, thanks to the gold of Spain! the government of Jerusalem is looked upon as one of the most lucrative situations for oppression. That which the Greeks had just experienced on my arrival at Rames, covered the
Catholics

* This plant is also called in French, La Raquette.

Catholics with glory, and the cavalcade of their Solicitor was one of the consequences of that triumph. He insisted on conducting me to Joppa, and I was really enchanted to see the uniform of the Recollets astride upon a beautiful Arabian horse, richly harnessed and caparisoned.

On approaching the coast, they shewed me the horrid pyramid erected by Mehemet-Bey. This monster had formed it of *fifteen hundred heads* he had ordered to be cut off, after taking of this town.

Jaffa, or Joppa, forms a separate government, and is the appendage of a Sultana, who farms out the custom-house; but the depopulation of this town must necessarily have diminished its commerce. It consists at present only in linen and rice, which are sent from Damietta, for the consumption of Napoulouse, Rames, and Jerusalem, and the numerous hords of Arabs encamped on the plains of Gaza; in exchange for which, Damietta receives clumsy glass-ware, made at Ebrom, raw cotton, cummin, and particularly Joppa soap, which article, by an immemorial grant, pays only half duties in Egypt.

After visiting the Solicitor, the Convent of his order, and adopting all the measures he thought necessary, this monk, who was not in Priest's orders, insisted on giving me the strongest testimony of his respect, by bestowing his benediction on me in the face of Israel; but in spite of this preservative, the croud who followed us to the beach, were very near seeing me swallowed up by the breakers on the bar, which the sailors were bold enough to attempt, and which they could hardly pass with the utmost exertions of their skill.

On my return to the frigate, she set sail for St. John of Acra, where we anchored the next morning. Dgezar, Pacha of Seid, was then at that place; he sent a very pressing invitation to me on landing, to come and see him, but I was very far from having any such intention. The cruelties for which he was celebrated, and the oppressions which made him feared, inspired me only with the desire of mortifying him. It was easy to discover, from the language of the officer he had sent to pay his compliments to me, that my credit at the Porte was the chief

chief motive of his politeness, and I did not let slip this opportunity of reviving the uneasiness he had long been under, from the resentment of the Grand Signior. I answered him, "that as we were both *travellers*, it was not worth while to become acquainted."—The officer did not imagine that this answer would prevent me from paying a visit to his master, at his place of residence: but the Pacha felt all the bitterness of it; for the word *traveller*, the literal sense of which could not apply to him in his government, was taken by him as I intended it,—in its figurative sense of *death*, as applied by the Turks. He could not but feel, in fact, that had it not been for the weakness of the Porte, which no longer punished any disorder, he must long since have paid with his head, the horrible tyranny he had exercised. He carried it to such a length, as even to take a pride in the reputation of cruelty, and this monster assumed the name of Dgezar, *Butcher*, in which he gloried; and it was a title he richly merited, by immuring alive a number of persons of the Greek communion, when he rebuilt the walls

of Baruth, to defend it from the invasion of the Russians. The heads of these unfortunate victims are still to be seen, which the *Butcher* had left exposed, the better to enjoy their torments. It was on such ferocious principles as these that Dgezar regulated all his conduct. His own security obliging him to keep in pay a set of banditti, he had fitted out a little fleet composed of them, with which he harrassed the coast, whilst a body of horse, of the same character, attended at his landing. Dgezar Pacha, thus situated at Acra, finding that he could obtain nothing from me, was desirous, at least, of being saluted by the frigate; but this man, as ignorant as he was haughty, thought he had only to show himself on the beach, with a brilliant cavalcade, to receive a mark of respect, to which he could only have any pretension by embarking on the water. He had no doubt, therefore, that the silence of the frigate was owing to the distant manner in which I had treated him. To revenge this supposed affront, he sent orders to Seid not to salute the frigate on her arrival, taking care, at the same

same time, to let me know the disposition he had made; but this insignificant mark of his resentment, had no better effect than his first advances. I sent him for answer, "that I thanked him for having apprized me of his intentions, it being mine also to suppress these presents which an abusive custom had established."

The town of Acra is situated in a tolerably spacious bay, and protected from the southerly winds by Mount Carmel †. The principal walls of the church, built by the Knights Hospitalers, are still to be seen here, which they dedicated to St. John; and this name, joined to that of the town, has made it known under the name of St. John of Acra. Commercial speculations could not have been begun in this place, until a long time after the retreat of the Crusaders. These enthu-

N 5. *Monks and monks*

† The religious of the Catholic persuasion, who serve the Grotto of the Prophet Elias, keep an inn for the pilgrims who visit it, and distribute, instead of relics, of which they have none, Geodes, (a sort of chrySTALLIZATION, larger than an apple, and hollow in the middle) of every shape, which the country abounds with, and which they pass for petrified fruits.

siasts were no greater favourers of commerce than the Turks, who to govern, have always been the plunderers of Syria. It was only, therefore, under the quiet and beneficent reign of Cheik-Taher, that the plentiful crops multiplied our establishments, and it is since the tragical end of that Prince, that commerce has begun to decline. The trade here consists principally in cotton, which was of a superior quality before the planter gave the grain to be separated by others, which was executed so much better by himself.

I set out from Acra for Seid, the residence of the King's Consul General. This town is, in some degree, the head quarters of our commerce in Syria. We anchored there along-side of a ship of war belonging to the Grand Signior, the Captain of which did not seem inclined to show us much politeness. I have already mentioned, that the fortress was forbid saluting us by order of the Pacha; but the Dgezar had not foreseen, that during my residence at Constantinople, I should have happened to superintend the construction of the very Turkish carravel

ravel which was in the harbour of Seid; that I had cast all its artillery; and that the Captain himself should have been indebted to me for his promotion. This was the first vessel of the Grand Signior, too, which displayed the green flag I had prevailed on the Porte to adopt. The Captain no sooner heard that I was on board the frigate, than he sent to pay me his compliments; and I thought it was necessary to make him feel, that the independent conduct of the Pacha of Seid, should have induced him to show more respect to the King's flag, as that of the Grand Signior was less respected in Syria than elsewhere; he answered this representation accordingly with nine guns, which we returned him. He came afterwards to the Consul's to see me, to apologize for his negligence, and to invite me on board his ship, where I was saluted on entering, and on quitting it. This cannonade became a fresh subject of vexation for the Pacha, whom the Turkish Captain did not treat with much respect. To avoid, therefore, some new affront, Dgezar determined not to enter the harbour before night; but Mr. le

Baron

Baron de Durfort saluted his little fleet at sunrise; and this unexpected mark of attention persuaded him that I should treat him better at Sein than at Acra. He again invited me to come and see him; but although I understood that he intended me a distinguished reception, I continued unshaken in my first resolution, well convinced that I acquired more real honour in showing my detestation to this monster, than in receiving some frivolous mark of distinction from him.

It is to accomplish my object in writing these Memoirs, that I have thought it necessary to describe the character of Dgezar, and my conduct respecting him. This lion, let loose against humanity, who tyrannized over the province, and kept back two years tribute from the Grand Signior with impunity, humbled by a foreigner, and restrained in his resentment by a single frigate, of whose orders he was ignorant, by painting the weakness of the despot, and the cowardice of his subordinate officers, who awe him at a distance, gives, at one stroke of

of the pencil, the picture of the Ottoman empire.

The town of Seid, the ancient *Sidon*, is situated in the middle of the coast of Syria, at the foot of Lebanon, and Anti-Lebanon. The Mutualis inhabit the southern, and the Druses the northern part of that chain of mountains which extend along the coast, and preserve their independence in spite of the various attempts made by the Porte to bring them into more immediate subjection. It is true that the Druses are not always exact in paying the tribute agreed upon. The Pacha of Seid is even obliged, for the safety of his own domains, to farm them out to the powers of the mountain; but this method of avoiding their ravages, does not always secure the receipt of his revenues; and these compulsory farmings are productive of quarrels, wherein the nature of the dispute is frequently changed by incidental circumstances. The Mutualis, who inhabit Anti-Lebanon, from Seid to Acra, are less numerous than the Druses; but the castles they dwell in, render them as ready for an insurrection, and as difficult to

to reduce. The summit of every hill serves them as a fortress. Each proprietor of land is a great vassal; and this people, who are fanatics in the precepts of Ali, have a particular abhorrence for the Sunnite Mahometans, whom they massacre without pity whenever they can find the opportunity. The Mutualis have agreed to pay an annual tribute of two hundred purses for the free enjoyment of their mountains, and their seignories; but they are more scrupulous in enjoying those advantages, than in observing the conditions annexed to their enjoyment; so that the Druses, as well as the Mutualis, equally difficult of restraint, by contracting the authority of the Pacha within too narrow limits, have rendered it more heavy for the inhabitants of Seid.—Between this town and Acra, is to be seen the town of Sour, the celebrated Tyre, which is in subjection to a chief of the Mutualis; and this cradle of navigation still possesses the best harbour of Syria: but a few cargoes of tobacco, or of corn, belonging to the merchants of Seid, are the only objects of commerce of this famous city, excepting the
article

article of thread, which is brought to market by the country people, and which the French have the exclusive privilege of purchasing §.

If our merchants themselves have not been exempt from the oppressions of the the Pacha, it is only because they have not hitherto shewn firmness enough to awe him, for this Governor knows well the danger to which the fury of the people would expose him, if by his misconduct he compelled our merchants to withdraw themselves.

On quitting Seid, the frigate continued to run along the coast, and come to anchor

§ This circumstance paints the Turkish government, which neither knows how to grant, or how to withhold judiciously. One of the French merchants settled at Seid, presides over the public market; the Janissaries attached to the service of that nation, have the care of the police; our brokers fix the price of the thread,—the people of the country are not allowed to buy it,—and, consequently, much less strangers,—no monopoly can be more manifest; but it is so well established in the minds of the people, that they would themselves revolt against the government, were it disposed to put a stop to it; and the spinsters prefer the certainty of a quick sale to the uncertain profits of a higher price, for which they might be obliged to wait.

anchor within some shallows at the bottom of the road of Baruth. This town is built on a tongue of land that advances in the form of a peninsula, the platform of which is ornamented with a wood of pine trees, planted in rows. The beauty and variety of the gardens around the town, and the purity of the air, had drawn together a great number of inhabitants; and during the whole period that the Porte had transferred the Lordship of Baruth to the Emir of the Druses, who inhabit the neighbouring mountains, the mildness of the government, and above all the spirit of toleration, which placed the Druse, the Mahometan, and the Christian, on the same footing, induced a great number of merchants to settle there; but since Dgezar has taken possession of this town, to destroy its commerce, and force it to concentrate itself in Seid, the merchants of Baruth have abandoned it, and retired into the mountains, there to wait for the destruction of the tyrant. His object was to increase the income of the Custom-house at Seid, which is always formed by the Pacha; but his ignorance could not discover that

Speculations

speculations of revenue, when they strike at industry, cannot, for that reason, ever be calculated on any principles of commerce.

The mountains of Castervan extend along the sea coast from Baruth, six leagues to the northward; they are under those of Lebanon, and form their base. They are peopled by Catholics, who live in perfect harmony with the Druses, their neighbours, of whom I shall soon speak more particularly.

Tripoli, in Syria, which was the next place we went to, after quitting Baruth, is situated at a small distance from the road for the shipping, and the number of gardens which surround it, would make it a delightful abode, was not the air so unhealthy in summer. Its territory which extends and rises up to Mount Lebanon †, abounds in vineyards. Every little eminence produces wine of a different

† It is in that part of the mountains adjoining Tripoli, that we may still see the so much boasted cedars of Lebanon. I was assured that their antiquity was the most remarkable circumstance about them, and I dispensed with going to do homage to them.

rent quality, and the golden wine, (*le vin d'Or*) is distinguished above every other.

The abundance of silk, which is cultivated throughout Lebanon, and is collected by the merchants at Tripoli, is the principal object of commercial speculations. The annual exports of this article for France, amount to seven or eight thousand quintals, the greatest part of which is expedited from the other ports, which have no returns, and the bills sent for that purpose from Constantinople, are always negociated with the Pacha. The Pacha who commanded there was the son of the Pacha of Damascus. I stood in need of his assistance to furnish me with the means of travelling by land to Aleppo, and as he was not then at Tripoli, I was glad to hear that I should find him at Lattaquey; but the frigate not been able to anchor in the port, from the negligence of the Turks, who have suffered the harbour to be choaked up with the ballast thrown out by the ships, she brought to, and remained there till the return of the boat which carried me to the harbour of Lattaquey.

taquey. Its entrance is defended by a castle, in so ruinous a state, that had I not heard the artillery that saluted me, I should have passed without perceiving any fortification. The Chief Officer of the Customs received me on my landing, with all the respect due to my mission, and the stile of his civilities gave me a favourable opinion of his master *.

After reposing some time in a kiosk, where they brought me some refreshments,

* The manner in which the disposition of the master influences all his dependants, is one of the most remarkable circumstances in the manners of the Turks; it seems as if despotism would be imperfect, without subjugating the very sentiments. The attendants of a Turk are on the watch to observe the manner in which any person is received by their patrons, to treat him in the same manner on his departure; unlucky he, who shall have received a kick from him! They take the liberty likewise to construe his intentions. A Pacha had taken a great friendship for an European merchant,—he could never be without him; and all his court gave entertainments to the stranger. The latter was subject to the gout, and the Pacha who had unfortunately studied a little medicine, had a mind to cure his friend; and when he knew, that he was in the most excruciating pain, he made two of his servants go, with orders to give him fifty strokes

ments, I went to Lattaquey. This town, the ancient *Laodicea*, is built on a platform which overlooks the harbour. It still exhibits some vestiges of its ancient splendour, and its trade maintains, at this day, many handsome houses. It was not long before the Pacha of Tripoli sent to compliment me on my arrival, with assurances of his desire to see me, and render me any service. This disposition was very favourable for my intended journey to Aleppo, and I obtained from this Pacha more assistance than was

strokes of a stick on the soles of his feet. These fellows who were not so learned as their master, astonished at first, at a remedy that did not seem to be of a very friendly nature, were at length persuaded that the infidel had given offence, and executed their orders accordingly, with the utmost rigour, of which they did not fail to boast on their return to the Pacha. "How wretches," said he, "you have dared to treat my friend ill? The fifty strokes I ordered were a remedy,—the insults you have added, are an offence,"—and he immediately ordered each of them one hundred; from thence he went to beg pardon of his friend for the insolence of his servants who had presumed to make an addition to the remedy. The European would readily have dispensed with this remedy, but he soon had reason to commend it, and was perfectly cured of the disorder.

was necessary; he insisted even on adding every honour, and seemed to fear a censure from the Porte, if, by neglecting to procure me respect, I should happen to be exposed to any insults in the mountains I had to cross. On my return from this visit, his first Equerry brought me a horse, sent by his master, assuring me at the same time, that he could, from experience, answer for his being sure-footed amongst the steepest rocks.

As I had procured at Tripoli, in Syria, tents and other necessaries, every thing was soon prepared for my departure. We set out with the guards sent by the Pacha to escort me, and pitched our first encampment on the banks of a river at the foot of Mount Lebanon. I had scarcely dismounted, before a Druse of the Mountain, presented me a complaint against a French merchant, his debtor, against whom I had already received several of a similar nature. Whilst the necessary orders were expediting for the verification, and payment of the debt, I was glad of the opportunity of conversing with a man who had struck me by the noble manliness with which he had
come

come to demand justice ; and this interval gave me time to get a few particulars from him respecting the manners and customs of the Druses, which I shall subjoin with some further ideas on the subject.

This people, comprised under the same denomination, are divided into different sects, who mutually detest each other ; but who, nevertheless, invariably unite in defence of their common liberty, and by an uniform prejudice against the Mahometans. This disposition, however, they manifest less than any other. When their affairs call them into the Turkish towns, they frequent the Mosques, but prefer our churches, when they can go to them without danger ; yet do they appear as far removed from the dogmas of the Gospel, as from the precepts of the Coran. It is evident, from what can be collected, that the greatest part of the Druses are sectaries of *Haken-Bamr-Illab* *, Caliph of Egypt, of the family of the Phatimites. These mountaineers, in deifying him, have called him Hakem-

* An Arabian word signifying, " ruling by the order of God."

kem-Bamri †, and have only preserved the name of his Apostle, *Dourfi*. This etymology, taken from their sacred books, is sufficient to overturn that which Mr. Pujet de Saint Pierre has given. He makes the Druses descendants of the *Comte de Dreux*, an origin too absurd to merit a serious discussion. The Caliph Hakem, and his Apostle, seem to have refined upon the contempt which sectaries of all ages and countries have shewn for humanity; they have divided their followers into three classes; the priests, the elect or initiated, and the people. This latter class, who are scarcely acquainted with a few social principles, without which mankind cannot sleep in security, is obliged to repose its hopes of salvation on the credit of the two former. It is on this feeble support, however, that the Druses believe in the elect of God, and condemn every contrary opinion. Hakem has promised them that they shall be the heirs of the Turks, who are to be destroyed by the Christians. They must have imagined, no doubt, that this prophecy was on the point of being accomplished during the last

† Ruler of his order.

last war with the Russians; and this opinion has always made them give a decided preference to the Christians; but it is probable that their Prophet has but ill-calculated the order of succession.

By the hierarchy established in this sect, all their religious rites are impenetrable to the eyes of the profane; even their books * are carefully preserved; that of the priests in particular, (called *The Per Excellentiam Book*;) it appears impossible to procure a sight of it. It is pretty generally believed, however, that the Druses worship a sort of idol, which they preserve under ground, where the elect only are allowed to enter.

Some women of the Druses, converted to the Christian faith, have unvailed, too, other ceremonies, not less absurd; but as they were not in the secret, their accusation is not a sufficient title for that accuracy I wish to observe.

Druses of different sects inhabit that part of the mountains I passed over; the Turks call them Nuseris, or Anseris; but this people reject both these appellations, and

* The Druses are forbid to eat with any person in power, for fear of partaking of ill gotten wealth.

and preserve that of the Druses, without pretending to the glory of impenetrable mysteries. One sees the greatest part of them, in fact, pay particular adoration to the sun; they bend the knee three times before him, on his rising, and seem to endeavour to seize with their hands the first rays of that luminary, to purify themselves, by rubbing their bodies with them. Their worship is supposed to last only 'till the evening; and I was assured, that they indemnify themselves during the night, for their continence in the day. Another sect is said to worship the moon, and to reserve their pleasures for the day.

We find also in these mountains some *Gynecolaters**, whose worship, although less mysterious than that which the Chinese offer to *Lingam*, seems to be found-

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* *Gynecolaters*:—This word signifies 'Adorer of Women;' but in the acceptation of the term, in what is called 'good company,' it cannot be applicable to the Druses.—The Author has formed this Greek word out of respect to the Ladies.

M. Baron de Tott informed the Translator, that this worship of the female is only partial; the worshipper is on his knees before the altar; and his eyes are fixed on the object of his devotion, for which he is not obliged to look—*oculis erectis*.

ed upon the same principle. The Druses who are worshippers of the sun, appear to have more resemblance with the ancient inhabitants of Palmyra. It is at a small distance from that city, and, so speaking, in sight of the ruins of that famous Temple of the Sun, that we still find the worshippers of that body. Lebanon receives his first rays; it is there that his adoration would naturally take refuge, and be preserved.

We were two days in passing these mountains, of which there are three distinct chains, and two lateral ones form, in some degree, the base which supports that of the centre. This construction of the mountains, alternately presents the horror of the most profound abysses, the most dangerous defiles, the most picturesque situations, and the most delightful vallies. One sees, on every side, plantations of mulberry-trees kept in the greatest order. These trees, whose leaves give food for the silk-worms, are planted in quincunxes, with a perfect regularity, which renders this refinement more remarkable, from its inutility; and as it is only amongst the Druses that this
manner

manner of planting is known throughout the Levant. Their villages appeared to be tolerably well built; they are always built under steep rocks, which shelter them; and the summits of the mountains, crowned with pine-trees, form the most interesting landscapes.

We arrived, after three days painful march, at the little town of Tchoukour, on the banks of the Orontes. The pilgrims from Constantinople and from Asia, who were joined together in their way to Damascus, the general rendezvous of the caravan for Mecca, had arrived before us at Tchoukour, and we found them encamped on the borders of that river. I established my camp at a little distance; and their chief, (for every society chooses a master, or something resembling it,) sent me a present of fruits, with his compliments on my arrival. But notwithstanding this politeness, the commander of the town thought that the neighbourhood of so numerous a troop, who were to set off the next day, and every individual of which thought himself sure of absolution, left some doubts of my security. He rein-

forced my escort therefore, with a body of infantry, disposed in a line of circumvallation; but I knew the Turks well enough to have a better opinion of the Pilgrims, and too little of my new guard not to be afraid of them. I escaped, however, with a scattering fire, that lasted the whole night, and which they assured me was the only method of keeping off the robbers; but it was the way also of killing honest people, if any such had happened to pass near my quarters; and I was, after all, forced to pay the poltroons for keeping me awake.

Rhia, where we slept the next night, is situated at the entrance of the plains of Syria. Some ruins are to be seen here which point out no determinate objects, but bear the marks of the most remote antiquity. The country around this small town is most richly cultivated, and continues so as far as Aleppo. It took us two days and a half to cross this plain, the plowing of which is very remarkable; each furrow seems to be traced out by a line, and is without the smallest bend for the length of a quarter of a league.

Corn,

Corn, cotton, and a kind of grain which the inhabitants make oil of, are produced on this soil. This industry seems to throw a veil over the devastations this plain has undergone, but it is sufficiently testified by several fragments of antiquity. I saw near a fountain, a sort of basin of white marble, in one block, of seven feet long, by three in height, and four wide, ornamented with garlands, and the slaughtering of rams, in the finest taste, and carved with the purest chisel; it was made use of as a watering trough; and as we cannot suppose it to have been transported either from Balbec, or Palmyra, it plainly indicates the former existence of some town which was nearer, and is more completely destroyed than either of them.

I was still threatened with a public entry, which determined me to halt at Kantouman, an usual place of repose for travellers, built at three leagues from Aleppo, on the edge of the desert which surrounds that city. I arrived there at night, after passing the wildest country, and breathing an air absolutely phosphoric.

The precautions I had taken to avoid the pomp they had prepared for me, only served to render it melancholy, for the flambeaux with which they waited for me at the gate of the town, to conduct me to the Consul's, gave our entry the air of a funeral procession.

The town of Aleppo, celebrated for the number of its inhabitants*, the beauty of its buildings, its extensive commerce, and the riches that flow from it, is situated in a hollow, and on a small river; but this water which supplies the inhabitants of Aleppo, appears as foreign from the soil it runs through, as the town itself is from the desert in which it is placed, and it is only from the devastation of the surrounding country that one can find the solution of this political problem; but the causes of its preservation, increase, and opulence, are easily to be discovered in the necessity there was for an emporium between the Mediterranean-

* They reckon 150,000 souls at Aleppo, the greatest number of whom are Mahometans. Some Jews, and a great many Armenians, compose the remainder of the population: the Franks, who are drawn there by commerce, are too few in number to merit the being included in the calculation.

diterranean and the Persian Gulph. Its situation must also have been determined by the advantageous circumstance of a running water, which is so scarce in these plains, that this river, whose source is not remote, loses itself a few leagues below the town, and seems only to show itself in this parched country, for the purpose of fixing men in the little valley that it waters.

Aleppo is surrounded by gardens, or rather by small plantations of Pistachio trees, whose leaves of a delicate green, and the fruit of a rose colour, form the most charming coup d'œil, whilst this production itself constitutes a branch of commerce of a sure and profitable sale.

This town is defended from the depredations of the Arabs who surround it, by a pretty strong castle; and this fortress, placed in the centre of the circular space occupied by the town, is built on a butt, or hillock, which appears to have been formed by the hand of man, and it seems as if it had been surrounded by some courses of stone. The fort, which is built on the ancient military principles, contains at present some

pieces of artillery, which might graze the tops of all the adjoining hills without endangering the houses;—all the latter have terraces on the top of them, and are so equal in height, that one has very seldom any steps to mount, or to descend, it going from one house to another; and several large vaulted streets add to the facility of communication, by enabling the passenger to go from one quarter to another, without the trouble of passing through the streets. Those of Aleppo are elegantly paved,—the footways are formed by large regular flag stones, and the centre of the street is made of brick, placed edgeways for the convenience of the horses. There is an attention to cleanliness in Aleppo too, unknown in the other towns in Turkey, nay even in the capital. This object of police does not occasion the incumbrances of our carts; it is executed by ass-drivers, who go through the town, and collect the filth from the sweepers, whom each individual is obliged to employ. If the heat of the climate renders this work not so difficult, the same heat makes it necessary to pay a greater attention

tention to cleanliness, to preserve the salubrity of the air, particularly under the vaulted streets I have been speaking of, which are principally destined for the shop-keepers. They contain the most valuable effects: it is there that active and passive commerce displays its activity; but the protection of the different caravans, as well as the private efforts for travellers, furnish the Pacha and his officers with the certain means of extorting from trade and from individuals. In every other respect, the people enjoy more tranquillity at Aleppo, than in the other towns, and the Europeans have never suffered any oppression capable of discouraging their speculations. We may judge also from the industry of the people of Aleppo, that despotism treats it with indulgence. They even venture to enter into competition with the Indies. I have visited with attention their manufactures of the stuffs we call herbages*, the entry of which is

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* Herbages are a sort of silk and cotton stuff, with wrought flowers on it, much worn by the ladies in Province, and the southern parts of France, into which they are smuggled.

prohibited into France, although our imitation of them can by no means justify the prohibition, for our manner of spinning, and those shackles which hinder us from bringing that art to perfection, will never allow us to imitate them. Less depends, in fact, on the art of the manufacturer, whose work is precisely the same as in all brocaded stuffs, than on the skill of the spinster, which we must study, if we wish to imitate them with success. It is their art that gives such excellence to the silk of Lebanon, and enables it to surpass the origin of Italy. It is with Aleppo cotton, with which we can scarcely make our bourres of Rouen §, that the spinsters of Syria compose the web of the herbages; but the spindle requires patience, and patience can accomplish every thing*.

When

§ The bourres of Rouen, are of cotton, brocaded with silk, in imitation of the stuffs of the Levant.

* This manner of spinning can never suit the manufacturers, undoubtedly, who pay regular wages to spinsters. The assembling of individuals in manufactures, is still less adapted to the views of a wise

When I arrived at Aleppo, Ised-Achmet-Pacha, the Governor of that town, had just been removed, and ordered to repair the Temple of Mecca; a change regretted by the inhabitants, and which converted a good Minister into a bad architect. He set out for his place of destination, the day of my departure for Alexandretta, where I was to re-imbark. The new Governor gave me an escort of a hundred horse, to which he added an Alay-Tchaouché, and a beater of the tymbal. Besides this mark of distinction, peculiar only to the Pachas, he gave me two led horses; and I accepted this civility the more readily, as it proved that the suppression of the usual presents, which I had declared, and in which I was followed by the Consuls of the other nations, was not likely

to

a-wise administration, whose first care should always be to preserve health and good morals. A method was proposed to government of multiplying and bringing spinning to perfection, without removing the inhabitants, which would eventually have put an end to begging. The liberty of acting was all that was demanded;—"But good is not only to be done at the spindle; it requires patience to bring it about."

to have such injurious consequences for the Europeans, as I was made to believe. This suppression had deprived Ised-Achmet-Pacha of the customary present on his departure. I was to encamp near him at Kanthouman, and I took it for granted that he would dispense with every act of politeness towards me, which, in fact, would have given me but little pain, although, in other respects, I had a personal esteem for him; my tents, however, were hardly pitched, by the side of his, before he sent to compliment me, with a request to compensate to him by my company, for not having seen me at Aleppo. I went immediately to his tent, where, contrary to all the established forms, he rose up to receive me. I remained two hours in conversation with him, during which I discovered more good sense and knowledge in him, than was necessary to account for this sort of exile into which he was sent by the Porte. After communicating this observation to him, we separated to go to rest, and to take our different routes the next day.

Our

Our little troop lay the day following at Martavan. The singularity of the manners of the inhabitants of this village is so striking, that I cannot help extending that celebrity which Martavan enjoys in Syria. I was assured that the adjoining village is governed by the same principles, but being deprived of the advantage of laying on the high-road, its name is scarcely known. These two villages belong to a rich proprietor of Aleppo, who receives the quit rents of them, and enjoys, at the same time, the privilege of naming the first municipal officer of the community. At Martavan, there is not the smallest indication of any sort of religion. The men seem to be taken up entirely with agriculture; and the women, who in general are pretty, appear to have no other occupation than to *receive travellers*. The day when any traveller arrives, is also a festival with them, as well as for the *Pesewing-Bacbi*, whose authority is similar to that of Bailiff of the Manor, but *whose functions are of a more conciliatory nature, and whose name, and employment, cannot be translated*. His office is to take the orders of the new comers,

comers, to supply every one according to his taste, and to settle the produce of his receipts with the community. I was assured that this perquisite had been sold, together with the title which authorizes its collection, for ten purses*. It would be difficult to trace the origin of a society founded on such extraordinary principles; and it is in the midst of a country famed for the most rigid laws of jealousy, that Martavan preserves a *legal* licentiousness, so reduced to principle, that it appears, in fact, to be the only existing prejudice of this little society. The head-dress of the women of Martavan is peculiar to them; it is a sort of helmet of chased silver, ornamented with pieces of gold, strung on a thread. This cap resembles that of the Cauchois women. The officiousness of the Bailiff of Martavan was not so successfully employed in collecting my escort, as they had been in distributing them properly the preceding night, and we did not get away so soon as I intended. This day's journey brought us no further than a village, near which

we

* A Turkish purse is 1500-livres, or about 72l. 10s. sterling.

we incamped, at the entrance of the mountains, and from whence we set out before day-break, to ford a small river, in order to avoid the iron-bridge, which we were informed the *Turkmen* had got possession of.

This people, who in the winter inhabit the centre of Asia, and who stretch even into Syria in the summer, to feed their flocks, with their arms and baggage, are thought to be wandering tribes, but are, in fact, no more so than the Spanish shepherds, who follow their sheep during eight months of the year, throughout all the mountains of Andalusia; with this difference, that they are collected in more numerous bodies, that they may drive off any persons who may chuse to dispute with them their pasturage. They never begin any attack, nor do they ever go to war without provocation; but my escort was afraid of their resentment: the troops of Aleppo had lately had a skirmish with them, in which a few *Turkmen*, who had imprudently separated from the main-body, had been roughly treated by the Pacha's cavalry. It was to avoid them, therefore, that the detachment
which

which accompanied me, made me go along the mountains as far as Antioch, where we incamped on the banks of the Orontes, after crossing the ruins of that celebrated city. Its ancient inclosure is still to be seen, in the form of a parallelogram, which rests on the declivity of a very steep hill, and rises up to the very summit, which secured it from being taken from behind. The masonry of its walls, which run along the Orontes, is perfectly fresh, and is in the most perfect preservation: one sees towers on every part of them, the sole means of defence in those remote periods, built with the greatest elegance. The declivity of the hill exhibits also the ruins of the houses. My escort, always thinking of the Turkmen, and always prudent, made me continue along the mountains beyond Antioch, to get round the lake of that name, and which was at length to separate us from these formidable enemies. We were travelling on very quietly, and our brave horsemen were making their evolutions round us, when I saw them suddenly fall back upon me. The commandant of the troop then made me re-
mark

mark the tents of the Turkmen, pitched on the borders of the lake along which we were to pass: he appeared uncertain what part to take; but I did not hesitate about the matter; I must continue my journey, and I at length persuaded my escort not to have any apprehensions with me, provided they made no ridiculous parade to insult the Turkmen. I was very certain, in giving this advice, my guards were well disposed to follow it, and it required exertion enough to make this troop shew a good countenance before six or seven thousand Asiatics, whose pacific dispositions were at least doubtful.

I took the precaution to cover my escort with my little troop of Europeans; and we were marching in this order, which had nothing hostile in it, when we perceived a movement in the enemy's camp, from whence there sallied forth some men from different parts to meet us, and I soon had the music of the various hords at my horse's head. The Turkmen, musicians, preceded me dancing and playing, during the whole time of our passing along their camp. I then took

took my leave of them, after making them the present they had come in search of, with which these gentlemen were undoubtedly very good to be contented.

We slept the same night at Mahamout-Kan, a sort of castle at the entrance of the passes of the Beilan*. The mountains we crossed the next day are inhabited by the Curdes. The Turkish government has established here, for the security of commerce and travellers, some guards who, to render themselves more necessary, take care to pillage those who refuse to employ them; but the manner in which I travelled, giving them no hopes of executing any thing by force, these guards determined to get something from me by their attention. I found a troop of them stationed in the height of the mountains, who were very anxious on my approach, to get me into their possession, without regard to the detachment of cavalry which had hitherto guarded me so well; but I informed the commander of this infantry, so positively,

* A continuation of Mount Lebanon.—These mountains, inhabited by the Curdes, join the mountains of Caramania.

sitively, that with thirty Europeans, I was more able to help him, than he to defend me, that he gave up his claim upon me. I could not, however, refuse him the permission he asked, with great humility, of accompanying me, at least for some time; besides, I was not sorry to have an inhabitant of the country with me capable of answering such questions as I might wish to put to him during my journey; and this man, followed only by two of his soldiers, went on foot by the side of my horse.

He informed me, that his countrymen, the Curdes, very often revolted, and never were obedient; that the prevailing spirit of rapine rendered his duty very laborious, and that I ought to recommend the French, whom he preferred to every other race of infidels, always to apply to him, and pay him well. On my side, I endeavoured to persuade him that he would be hanged, if any accident happened to our merchants, and we finished without convincing each other. Whilst we were thus conversing together, I perceived at a small distance a horrible peak, which appeared to me to be the
haunt

haunt of wild beasts. "Have you," says I, "any tygers hereabouts?"—"Tygers:" says he, lowering his voice; "Do you want to see any? Get off your horse; I'll show you some at thirty paces from you." A game-keeper, who had found a covey of partridges, would not have expressed himself with more earnestness to engage the attention of the sportsman; but it may be supposed that this sort of amusement did not tempt me, and I dismissed him with a few crowns for the trouble he had taken.

This days journey, which was employed in crossing defiles, and in climbing over rocks, brought us to the village of Beylan, three leagues from the sea, and we encamped in the confined space between the village, and the precipice on which it is situated. We were in sight of the road where the frigate was waiting for me, and had even sufficient day-light to have got to Alexandretta, situated on the beach; but the air of that town is so pestiferous that I was advised not to sleep there. The Beylan is, on that account, the refuge of the factors who do business at Alexandretta; but notwithstanding the

the care they take to stay there as little as possible, and to retire to the Mountains of the Beylan, to breathe a more salubrious air, these unfortunate men seldom resist for any length of time the bad effects of this nephytic air. The marshes that extend along the coast are undoubtedly the immediate causes of their ill health, but the causes of the noxious quality of these vapours are more remote. The height of the mountains that surround Alexandretta, too lofty to allow a free passage to these vapours, by collecting and condensing them under a burning sky, are the original causes of the corruption of the air at Alexandretta. I have never observed an unwholesome air, without discovering the cause of it, in some topographical situation exactly similar †.

Alexandretta was the conclusion of our daily encampments, of which I began to be heartily tired; we arrived there time enough to finish all my business before night, and after satisfying the avidity of the

† The vapours arising from the rice fields of Egypt meeting with no obstacle to retain them, they fly off freely, and are for that reason free from corruption.

the persons who had accompanied me, I went on board the *Atalanta* in the evening, and the wind being favourable, we weighed anchor immediately, and had time enough to take the height of Cape St. Andrew.

It is to the southward of this land, and on the easternmost point towards the Isle of Cyprus, to which we were bound, that the town of Famagusta is situated, celebrated for its defence against the Turks, when they took it from the Venetians, and for their treachery towards the Governor after the surrender of the town.

We were the next morning off Cape *de la Grecque*, and anchored before noon in the road of Arnaca, where the French merchants, and the King's consul at Cyprus are settled; this town which from its convenient situation for trade is preferred to Nicosia †, is at a quarter of a league's distance from the dock. The houses of the different consuls, those of the merchants, and the comforts always enjoyed where commerce flourishes, give this place altogether a very agreeable appearance.

The

† The Capital of the Isle of Cyprus.

The Isle of Cyprus is the appendage of a Sultana, and this kingdom, dismembered from the Venetian states, is at present governed by a Musselim, who, as well as the Greek Metropolitan, resides at Nicosia. The administration of these two chiefs, the one spiritual, the other temporal, has had such a rapid success, that neither the advantages of climate, nor its charming productions have been able to withstand it, and this beautiful country exhibits at this day, nothing but the picture of solitude and misery. The amorous fountain Amathor and Paphos, contain only a few wretched inhabitants covered with rags. The taxes imposed on the people of Cyprus, taken from former calculations of a greater population, being now borne by a smaller quantity of individuals, induce them to fly, and aggravate the annual misery of those who are unable to escape from this horrible tyranny; but the means which necessity is compelled to make use of to pay this surcharge of imposition, by draining the true sources of wealth, will soon do retributive justice to the tyrants, and make them partake of

of the misery of the slaves. The wines of Cyprus, in fact, whose sale depends wholly on the quality, and which can only be acquired on the lees*, have already lost their value by the exportation of these old casks, which formerly were not to be procured, but which their poverty has obliged them to sell for a long time past. The Venetians have purchased the oldest; but private interest which has carried on this speculation, does not feel, that by inverting the order of things, it must eventually injure itself; and that an operation which deprives the cultivator of the means of cultivating to the greatest advantage, by destroying the wine, will render the barrel useless §.

The
 * The new wines were always poured into casks that had been kept for ages, and after remaining on the old lees of the former years, were drawn off for sale, which added greatly to the quality of the wine.

§ The Cyprus wines which in general have a pitchy taste, which they acquire from the pitched leather cases they are emptied into in coming from the press, and until they are put into the casks on the lees, these wines lose this taste by age and have this advantage, when they are genuine, of never becoming sour.

The abundance and variety of the productions with which the mild soil of Cyprus is spontaneously covered, must make one regret that Tournefort, that celebrated Botanist, neglected visiting this island. The researches which might here be made without difficulty, would save the trouble of visiting the coast of Carmania, where it is impossible to botanize without danger. Its proximity, as well as the similarity of the soil of Cyprus, with the continent of Asia, seem to leave no doubt of the similarity of their productions, and I was much concerned that the season was unfavourable to the zeal of the young naturalist, who was appointed by Mr. Poissonier to be principal surgeon to the frigate.

We left Cyprus, along which we coasted to the westernmost point, whence the frigate sailed for Rhodes, and we came to anchor before that famous tower, where the flower of the European nobility disputed the laurels with the Great Soliman, and left him only the field of battle.

Several pieces of armoury, belonging to the Knight Hospitalers, are still to be

seen at Rhodes; and that island, formerly the terreur of the Turks, is still formidable throughout the Archipelago, from two galleys which are equipped there to defend it from the corsairs of Malta, but which only serve to harass the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands.

The government of Rhodes is bestowed on a Pacha with two tails, who is frequently absent. The Nasir, or inspector of the Custom-house, is, after him, the most dangerous man, and his abuse of authority chiefly affects the Europeans. The person in possession of this employment on my arrival at Rhodes, had rendered himself formidable by his extortions; but greedy on the one hand, and liberal on the other, he always purchased impunity with the produce of his oppressions. Such is the system which pervades and governs the whole Ottoman Empire. It furnishes perquisites for the ministers of the Porte; and the Grand Signior, himself, finds, in this system, the resources for the supply of his private treasury; but in no case does any thing return to the unfortunate subjects of their oppress-

oppression, and the subject, who knows that complaints producing no other effect than to occasion a partition of the booty, give only a new thirst for plunder, is always prudent enough to hold his tongue.

I shall pass over an account of the manners of the inhabitants of Rhodes, and every thing else remarkable in this island. These particulars have been given by Mr. le Conte de Choiseul Gouffier*, and his voyage comprehending every part of Greece, which remained for me to visit, I shall confine myself to an inquiry into the Turkish government without the capital, but it is my duty, to fulfil the object of these memoirs, by bearing testimony to the accuracy of Mr. de Choiseul. He has neglected no details, and the public are much indebted to him for having distinctly traced out ancient Greece, without ever confounding it, with the different traits which characterize the modern Greeks.

The bad season, together with the business of my inspection, determined

TO

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me

* The present ambassador of France at the Porte, whose learned work is in high estimation in France.

me to pass the winter at Smyrna, and we set sail accordingly from Rhodes, coasting along Asia †. This navigation, which at any other time would have afforded us the most agreeable coup d'œil, was extremely fatiguing, particularly off the Gulph of Stanchio, where we had very bad weather, which after obliging us to lie too all night, forced us to stand in next day for the shoals of the Pacha. A short time after we had got into this shelter, a Venetian vessel arrived at the same anchoring ground, the captain of which informed us, that meeting with the bad weather far out at sea, and not knowing either his latitude, or how to steer, he had fastened an image of the Virgin, at the prow of his vessel, and left the direction of it entirely to her. It was thus that these devotees had traversed a sea full of shoals; but it is still more ridiculous, and dreadful to reflect that one such instance of success was sufficient to occasion the loss of many vessels, by following the same superstitious principles.

Our

† It is on this coast that the finest sponges are fished up.

Our course lying between the islands of Spalmadore, and the harbour of Tchesmé, I had an opportunity of beholding that theatre, where ignorance had played the principal part. The Turks were still employed in fishing up the remainder of the brass cannon swallowed up in this abyss, which the persons employed in the research were appropriating to themselves, whenever they could steal them, and selling them to the best bidder *. At a little distance we doubled Cape Carabournoa, which shuts in the spacious and deep road, at the bottom of which is situated the town of Smyrna. This port (*Echelle*) §, may be considered as

P 3

the

* This manner of administering the Grand Signior's affairs, is carried to such shameful and barefaced lengths, that a *Pacha* of the Morea made them saw off the barrels of the guns of Coron to sell the mettle. This ingenious method of stealing the artillery without diminishing the number of the pieces, may have been found fault with, but certainly was never punished.

§ The word *Echelle*, for which as it is a word peculiarly applied by the French to their settlements in the Levant, and has no word synonymous to it, as thus applied, in English, the *translator*, has frequently

the centre of the commerce of the Levant, which is there both active and passive, and is in fact the entrepôt of all Asia. The wealth of several individuals at Smyrna, maintains a system of independence in its environs, which is increasing its progress every day. Their principal power consists in money, and that power is irresistible. It may be further remarked that the efforts made by the Porte a few years ago, to destroy one of the Agas* have only proved the weakness of the despot, without frightening the others. They even took a pride in seeing the Captain Pacha commissioned to go there in person, to invest the house of their companion; and the cruelties exercised by this great Admiral, after his victory, on defenceless people

quently substituted the words port, harbour, or settlement; is taken from the Turkish word *İskêle*, a sort of pier, built on piles, formed for unloading the merchandize, to which there are two or three steps, to facilitate the ascent and descent. The word *iskêle* literally translated is *échelle* or *ladder*; a proof that literal translations are not always the most expressive of the true sense.

* The title bestowed on all rich persons without employments, and above all on great landholders.

people whom he massacred without pity, has only prepared the way for a more obstinate resistance in future.

It is through the Agas of Smyrna, that commerce makes its returns; the crops of cotton are purchased from them, and they are furnished in exchange with articles of consumption necessary for these Agas, and the ballance is paid in specie; trade sometimes suffers a few trifling oppressions; but mutual interest always dictates the law to the two parties, and the evil is seldom so great as to make a difference. The commerce of Smyrna extends its branches throughout all the Lesser Asia, by means of the carravans which conveys our *Languedoc cloths* that are bought up by the merchants of the country, who purchase them in wholesale, to circulate their sale throughout that vast country.*

P 4

To

* Will the policy of ENGLAND never keep pace with her sterling good sense? will she never learn to acquire a little of that accommodating spirit which is raising her rival to power as a commercial nation? or is she determined to force her commerce, as she attempts to compel alliances, by the superiority of her manufactures, or the justice of her cause? ! ! !

TRANSLATOR.

To finish this long circuit, I had now only to visit the coast of Europe, and I crossed the Archipelago to Salonica, one of the great pachaliks of Turkey in Europe. At the entrance of the gulph is seen Mount Athos, now called Monte Santo, inhabited only by Monks of the Greek persuasion. Some relations would have us believe, that they are in possession of a collection of precious manuscripts; but it is more certain, that if there be any, they do not read them; it is equally true that the books of the ancient Thessalonica, as well as those of Constantinople, have been kept locked up since the conquest, and that the Barbarians have melted lead in the locks, so that the remains of Grecian literature, delivered over into the hands, either of superstition or of ignorance, are so well kept from us, by these enemies to letters, that we can scarcely flatter ourselves with the hopes of ever being able to rest from them a few fragments.

The Turkish government displays its weakness more particularly at Salonica, by the opposition which despotism experiences there, on the part of the militia.

tia. The *Esprit de corps*, which increases every day by proper management, and assumes to itself the shreds of an impaired authority, has taken possession of Salonica. Several Pachas have been its successive victims; but this opposition to despotism, far from destroying its effects, serves only to multiply the tyranny, and the Janissary Aga, the chief who commands under him, and each private Janissary are so many tyrants, courted by the Porte, feared by the Pacha, and who make the whole country tremble.

The custom of permanent garrisons amongst the Turks, joined to the want of discipline of their troops, give them, in some degree, the absolute property of the places in which they are stationed, where they exercise rights, consecrated by custom, maintained by their union, and which are in invariable opposition to what is intended, as established order.

It is on this principle that the Galindgis, who possess the privilege of selling lambs in Constantinople, oblige individuals to purchase them. The

Turkish troops quartered in each village enjoy some privileges of that nature; their union invigorates that spirit of fraud which attacks the revenue of the state. This infidelity is remarkable on all the coasts of the Archipelago, where the exportation of corn is become the basis of a smuggling trade.

The prohibitions of the Grand Signior, which are the more severe, as he himself is the monopolizer of that article, produce no effect; and the commanders of the galliots stationed to prevent that exportation, are the first to encourage it, in consideration of a recompense stipulated, and paid before hand. The station of the galliot is then agreed upon, and the time and place when the smuggling vessels shall take her lading; the country boats then convey the corn to the coast; Turkish and Greek vessels are employed in the business; the Grand Signior's galliot sees nothing; and avidity profiting by this licence, accomplishes every species of fraud.

The sale of timber on the coasts is given up alike to pillage. The most powerful individual in the country, arrogates

rogates to himself the right of disposing of this domanical property of the sovereign; and the mariner who makes his fraudulent purchase, and always endeavours to buy as cheap as possible, necessarily gives life to this marauding spirit, which is destructive of all subordination and discipline, and leaves nothing to the state that furnishes him his very sailors, but losses, which are beyond all calculation.

On leaving Salonica, I went to visit the Isles of St. George of Squirees, Paros, Naxia, and Sira; these Islands, as well as those with which the Archipelago is filled, are either private appendages which the proprietors dispose of, or immediate dependencies of the Captain Pacha; but in every case, the inhabitants, whose common interest it is to prevent the appearance of any Turkish officer amongst them, solicit the permission of farming their own islands; as despotism however has always its claims also, and that it constantly requires the cutting off a head, or the hanging of a fellow creature, the republican form of Government, the form established amongst

mongst all lesser communities, cannot be too agreeable. Despotism must have a primate, a subaltern despot, should he not even be a Turk; and the Greek, who obtains that dignity, never deceives the expectation of those to whom he owes his elevation.

On quitting Syra, we sailed for Naples in Romania. This town, situated at the bottom of the Gulph of the same name, and which, with that of Lepantum, form the peninsula of the Morea, was at that time the residence of the Pacha who governs that part of Turkey in Europe. He was compelled to take refuge there to shelter himself from the devastations committed in the Morea, since the Albanese had come there to defend it from the invasion of the Russians. These troops, whom the Porte wanted to get rid of, insisted on not being disbanded before they received the arrears due to them, and which were refused them. The Grand Signoir, on the one hand, previously expected their obedience; the Albanese, on the other, insisted on being paid: their insolence increased with their claims; and the Pacha, who was employed in this negotiation,

tion, had neither money to satisfy, nor power to compel them. His orders from Constantinople however, urged him to terminate the business, and a few acts of rigour, which are always misplaced when there is no power to support them, only served to consolidate the revolt, whose first exploit was to take possession of Tripolitza, the capital of that kingdom.

The retreat of the Pacha had been dictated by them contrary to prudence; but he was as much afraid of the Porte, as of the Albanese. His was a very embarrassing situation; I had known him at Constantinople, where he had held in the time I was there, the office of Grand Equerry, and I now found him preparing for the siege of Tripolitza. This Turk, accustomed to see the Grand Signior dispose of my activity, and grant me his confidence in all military matters, made no doubt of my eagerness to undertake the reduction of the rebels of Morea. The army he had collected, the command of which he designed for me, was composed only of volunteers, and his household was of the number, but the whole troop appeared to be more animated

ted with the ardour of spoil, than the love of glory. I observed also that the Pacha, confident of appropriating to himself, both one and the other after his success, was very ready to transfer his authority, that he might not in any respect commit to danger, his person or reputation. I amused myself in consequence, for some time, with his embarrassments and solicitations, and concluded at length, by telling him, that I neither ought to do it, nor could I take upon me a commission so foreign to that with which I was entrusted: I could only convince him however of my want of inclination; nor had I more success in attempting to demonstrate to him, that no person but himself, could properly conduct this business, in which his presence would have more weight than all the military force he had at his disposal. He continued unshaken in his resolution of remaining at Naples in Romania, and in this disordered state of ideas and disposition *; I left him to set out for Tunis, where I was to finish my inspection.

After

* I could not avoid however showing the Commander of the Artillery, the use of mortars for throwing granadets, and the manner of preparing the

After touching at Malta, and putting into Lampedosia, we doubled Cape Bon; and came to an anchor opposite the new castle of the Goulette, or entrance of the harbour, from whence I went to Tunis.

This town, situated on the banks of a lake, or rather of a shallow water in the form of a lake, and which communicates with the gulph by a channel, is rather large, pretty well built, and not ill defended by the fort on the sea, and by some smaller ones scattered on the eminences which surround it. It is probable that this situation, first made choice of by fishermen, who have determined that of almost all maritime towns, appeared to the Tunisians preferable to that of Carthage, when enriched by their rapine, they dared to make open war on commerce. It is to be presumed also, that their piracies have made them wish to keep out of the way of a bombardment. The platform, on which we still may see the ruins of the rival of ancient Rome, advances on the contrary into the middle of the gulph, and for this reason, had

the matches. It was a long time after this before the Porte could appease the troubles in Mores.

had they built there, the Tunisi-ans would have been exposed to a *coup de main*, the only attack they have to fear, as long as the policy of Europe, telescope in hand, to make discoveries in distant countries, continues to overlook what would be much more convenient and advantageous. The aqueducts of ancient Carthage are yet to be seen near Tunis; and six leagues up the country is the castle of Trater, which served by way of reservoir, and is the only remaining monument, of that time that announces any thing of magnificence. The heaps of ruins on its ancient site, have no appearance of it; but by digging amongst them, one discovers some traces of what this place formerly has been, by the gold medals which time has not been able to destroy; I saw a collection of them at Tunis, which appeared to me very precious.

The dignity of Bey is hereditary, and his authority absolute. It extends into Africa, over a great tract of country in which he collects his annual tribute by a little army that marches through it, for that purpose. This tribute, joined to that of the tithes, the poll-tax, his share of the prizes, and Custom-house duties,

duties, form the revenue of the sovereign ; but the commerce and industry of the Tunisiens constitute the true basis of their wealth, and of a sort of affability which distinguishes them from the other nations of Barbary. The Bey resides at some distance from the town. His residence is called the Barde, and this palace, surrounded by walls and flanked by towers, displays more magnificence in its interior, than one would be led to expect from its external appearance ; the most remarkable part of it, is a spacious court surrounded with buildings raised on a colonade of white marble ; there are some apartments also which appeared to me not badly ornamented for that country ; but they who judge of the Barde from the hall of the Divan, where the Bey gives audience, would not conceive a very exalted idea of its magnificence. It was for this reason, perhaps, that the prime minister granted me an audience in the hall of the treasury. I do not know whether the chest which served us by way of seat was full of gold, as well as those this hall is filled with. For my own part what I saw resembled more a wardrobe, or rather

rather the back shop of an old cloath's-man, with his goods piled up in heaps ; but I was charmed with the mildness, the information, and refined understanding of the Barbarian, with whom I had to transact my business. I had a private audience likewise of the son of the reigning Bey, and who has just succeeded his father ; I was apprized of the timidity of this young prince's character, and took care accordingly to put him at his ease.

I saw at the Barde a great number of slaves of every nation ; but they gave me none of the ideas usually entertained respecting them. I saw them well cloathed, well fed, and well treated, and I am inclined to doubt, if those even who are home-sick, have in general much reason to be satisfied with their ransom. It is possible, in truth, that the slaves sold into the interior parts of the country, or to individuals who purchase them on speculation, are not so happy as those who fall to the lot of the sovereign, or the grandees. We may presume, however, that even the avarice of their masters militates in their favour, for it must be confessed that the Europeans are the only people who ill treat their slaves, which
arises

arises no doubt from this cause,—that they constitute the wealth of the orientals, and that with us they are the means of amassing wealth. In the East they are the delight of the miser; with us they are only the instrument of avarice. Convey a negro of our colonies, and an European slave of Tunis, into a neutral and impartial country;—it is to that tribunal I appeal.

The character of the Tunisians, their passions, and every thing that constitutes their manners, partakes of the burning climate of Africa; but if the imagination of this people, as well as of the Turks, necessarily go astray, from the privations arising from the plurality of women, always reserved for the rich, the constitution of these Africans not permitting them to give themselves up to the same errors, nothing can withstand the impetuosity of their passion, which oversteps the bounds even of human nature.

They who think that the want of cleanliness is the principal cause of the unhealthiness of towns, would be astonished to see the inhabitants of Tunis exist in
the

the infected air they respire, occasioned by the putrid exhalations of a canal which conveys the filth of the town into the adjoining lake. This lake itself emits exhalations, which appear no less dangerous; but the salubrity of Tunis can only be attributed to the depth of the valley which terminates in the gulph, and which, by attracting the vapours of the canal, and of the lake, does not give them time to acquire such a degree of corruption as to make them noxious to man.

In quitting Tunis to re-imbark, I had the opportunity of observing the ruins of the fort built by Charles the Fifth. The quantities of earth collected by time have removed it to a little distance from the sea, for which reason undoubtedly the Tunisiens have substituted that of the goulette.

From this road we set sail for Toulon, and I here finish *Memoirs*, which I should never have written, had I not imagined they might be useful.

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THE END.

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